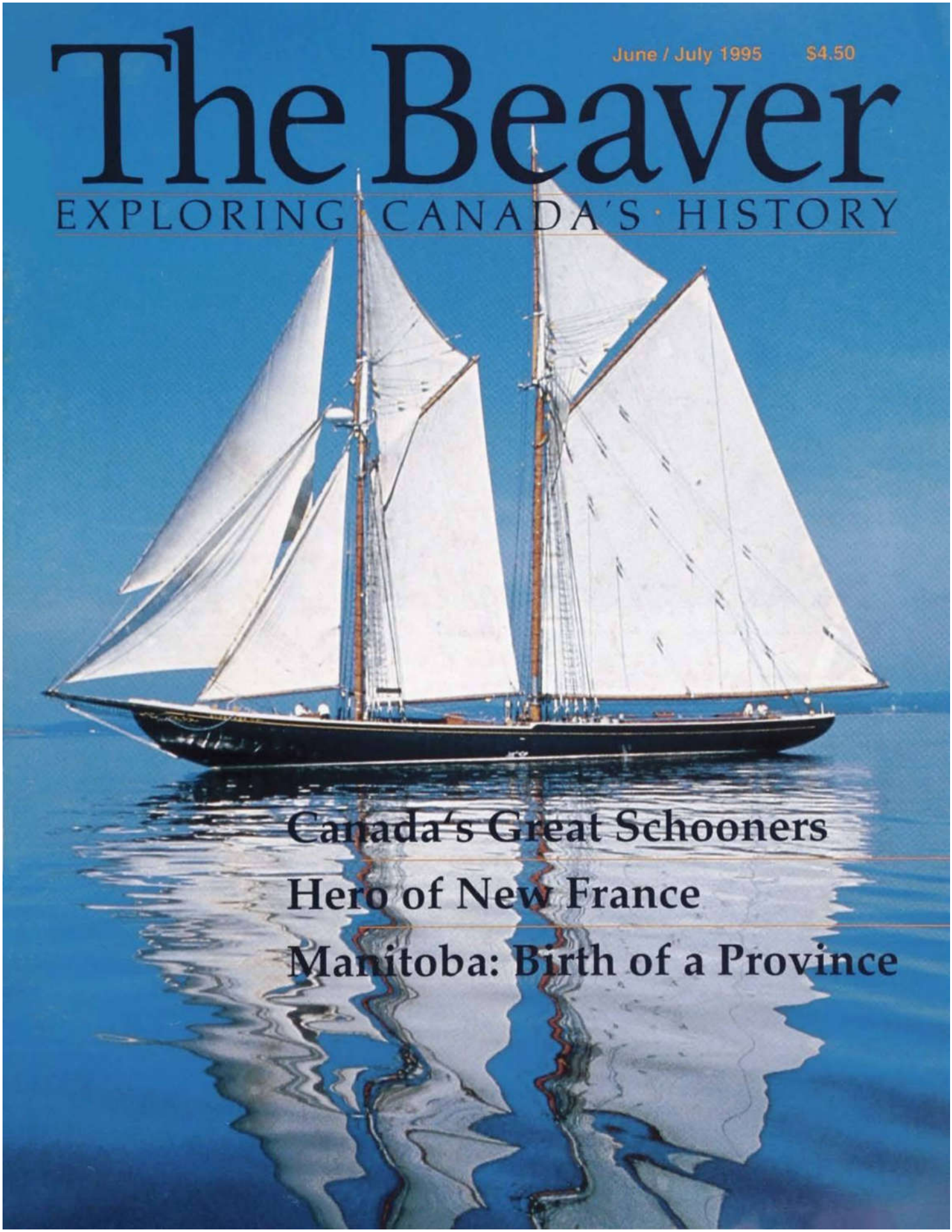
June / July 1995 $4.50

The Beaver

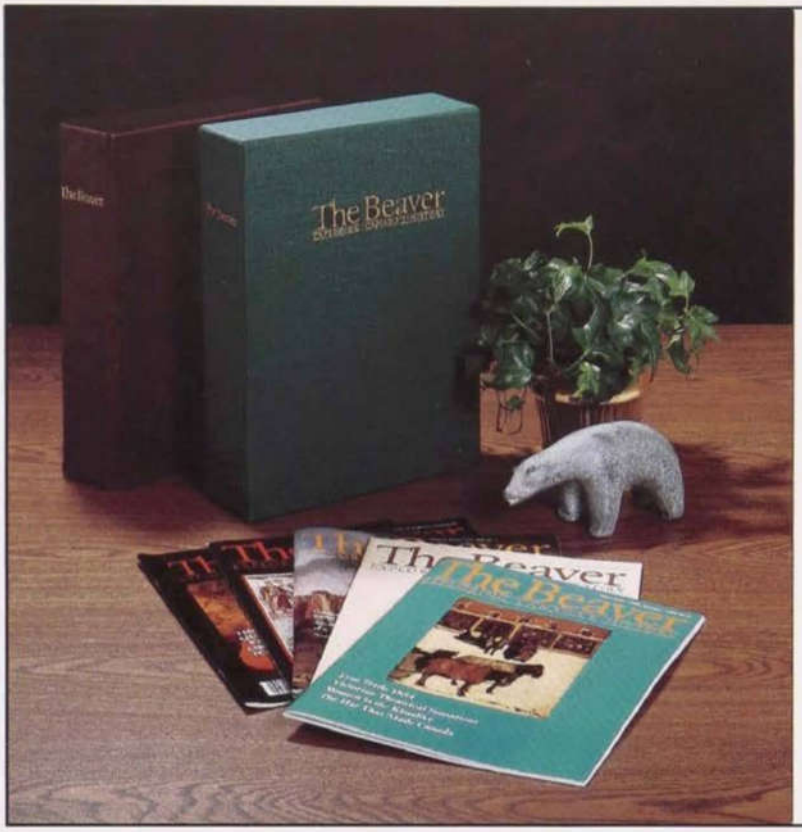
EXPLORING CANADA'S HISTORY



Canada's Great Schooners

Hero of New France

Manitoba: Birth of a Province



Preserve our History

Protect your back issues of *The Beaver* in our handsome brown **Beaver Binder.** Each sturdy vinyl binder holds six to eight issues and is sale priced at **$8.95** each or **two for $16.00,** postage paid.

Something new! **The Beaver Slipcase,** covered in attractive green fabric, holds 12 issues and is available at **$12.98 each** or **two for $24.00,** postage paid. Both binder and slipcase are embossed with elegant gold lettering and fit current and slightly larger back issues of *The Beaver.*

Send a cheque or money order to Beaver Binders, c/o *The Beaver,* #478 - 167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6.

Canadian orders add 7% GST.
Manitoba orders add 7% PST.

Steamer *Northcote* at Fort Edmonton, 1875

BY PETER RINDLISBACHER

This splendid evocation of the pioneer Canadian West is the first in a series of paintings of historic prairie steamers by the distinguished Canadian marine artist Peter Rindlisbacher.

The painting shows the famous Hudson's Bay Company vessel *Northcote* making its first visit to the HBC post at what is now the site of the city of Edmonton, Alberta, 10 years before the steamer's dramatic role at the Battle of Batoche in the North-West Rebellion.

The Beaver is offering a quality reproduction of this historic painting printed on fine stock and suitable for framing. It measures 13 3/4" x 19 1/4" and is priced at **$19.98 postage paid.**

Canadian orders add 7% GST.
Manitoba orders add 7% PST.

Christopher Dafoe, *Editor*
Carol Preston, *Associate Editor*
Alex Kachur, *Business Manager*
June Parker, *Subscriber Services Supervisor*
Sherrill Dallmann, *Subscriber Services Assistant*
Nadine Gauthier, *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy Bosma, *Research Assistant*
Catherine Kupfer, *Accountant*

Advisory Board:
Paul-André Linteau
Tina Loo
Desmond Morton
William Nobleman
Shirlee A. Smith

Publisher
Rolph Huband

THE BEAVER: Exploring Canada's History (ISSN 0005-7517), founded in 1920 by the Hudson's Bay Company, is published bi-monthly by Canada's National History Society, #478-167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3B 0T6. Phone: (204) 988-9300. Fax: (204) 988-9309.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: (6 issues) $25.00 (Canada and United States). SINGLE COPY $4.50. OTHER COUNTRIES ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION $32.00.

Manitoba Residents: Add 7% PST ($1.64 on 1-year subscription: $2.94 on 2-year; $3.93 on 3-year).

SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES: Call Toll Free 1-800-816-6777.

CANADIAN POSTMASTER: Send address changes to THE BEAVER Magazine, #478-167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 0T6.

PUBLICATIONS MAIL REGISTRATION NO. 1401.

U.S. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to THE BEAVER Magazine, c/o H.A. & J.L. Wood, Inc., Box 329, Pembina, North Dakota 58271-0329.

U.S. SECOND-CLASS MAIL REGISTRATION NUMBER: USPS 759-610.

Second class postage paid at Winnipeg and at Pembina, North Dakota.

While every care will be taken of manuscripts and illustrations submitted, no liability will be assumed for loss.

COPYRIGHT © 1995 by Canada's National History Society. All rights reserved. Reproduction without written permission of the publisher is strictly forbidden.

GST Registration Number: R 138681408.

Issued May 1995

PRINTED IN CANADA

THE BEAVER

Exploring Canada's History

June/July 1995 Vol. 75:3

2 EXPLORATIONS
Christopher Dafoe: Annals of *The Beaver*.

4 DAUGHTERS OF THE WIND
To sea with Canada's great schooners.
BY BILL WOLFERSTAN

14 A HERO OF NEW FRANCE
Pierre LeMoyne, scourge of the English.
BY IAN MCCULLOCH

23 CRISIS AT RED RIVER
125 years ago Louis Riel defied Canada.
BY J.M. BUMSTED

35 THEIR NAME IS MUD
From Gull Lake to Bald Mountain via Bear Creek.
BY E.L.M. BURNS

39 SURROUNDED BY ENEMIES
John Diefenbaker's last stand.
BY ALLAN LEVINE

46 BOOKS / 49 THE PACKET

53 WRITERS OF HISTORY
Christopher Moore on history by the minute.

ON THE COVER:
Bluenose II, photo courtesy Nova Scotia Tourism.
This page: *Robertson II* off Swartz Bay, B.C.
Photo by John Barnard.

Christopher Dafoe

Annals of *The Beaver*

The story is pure Hollywood. One day in the late 1930s Kenneth Macgowan, a producer at 20th Century Fox, saw the words "Hudson's Bay" on a whisky bottle. In that instant — or possibly a few drinks later — the great idea came to him. "Boys," he said, "what a title for a movie!"

With the working title *Hudson's Bay Company* agreed upon, the movie men set to work to find the story that would set the screen ablaze. It was soon discovered that the saga of the Hudson's Bay Company was one of high romance and adventure. To make a film illustrating a story that covered almost 300 years was, of course, impossible. "The only thing to do," according to a studio publicity release, "was to select some special era in that long story, dominated by some picturesque character."

At first it was thought that the story of Sir George Simpson, "The Little Emperor", would be suitable, but the costume department won out in the end and it was decided to start at the very beginning with King Charles, Prince Rupert, Nell Gwyn and that romantic pair of rascals, Radisson and "Gooseberry".

It took three years and a crew of script-writers and researchers to get the story right, but at last the cameras were ready to roll on the 20th Century Fox back lot and on location in McCall, Idaho. Henry Fonda had been considered for the role of Radisson, but when shooting finally began the role went to the popular Paul Muni. Nigel Bruce, famous as the silver screen's Dr. Watson, was to play Prince Rupert, Vincent Price was King Charles, with the gigantic Laird Cregar as "Mr. Gooseberry". The "love interest" would be supplied by John Sutton and the beautiful Gene Tierney, playing characters invented for the occasion by chief scriptwriter Lamar Trotti, who stressed that the film should not be seen as a history text. "The picture", the publicity department reminded potential viewers, "is a tale of high adventure, with a warm, glowing love story running through it".

"Is it any wonder," the publicists asked, "that an epic of such magnitude should have bewildered the script writers of Hollywood? Or that two years of research should have gone into the making of the picture?"

Hollywood, of course, wanted to get it right and in order to avoid mistakes two "technical advisers" were called in, one an expert on the London of 1670, the other "sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to give advice on the Canadian end." The man selected to deal with "the Canadian end" was Clifford Wilson, editor of *The Beaver.* It must have been the strangest assignment he ever undertook.

Hudson's Bay Company — the name was later shortened to *Hudson's Bay* to fit the billboards — was not the only HBC epic of that season. In the Fall Packet, published in *The Beaver* for September 1940, Clifford Wilson noted that "The Company these days is much in the limelight — or perhaps we should say the Klieg lights. It is playing a part in no less than three major moving pictures, two of them now in production, the other almost finished." Wilson had been to the Fox studios in Hollywood to discuss the script and advise on costumes and props and while there he had been introduced to Cecil B. De Mille at Paramount, who was directing another epic, *North West Mounted Police,* with Gary Cooper and Paulette Goddard. "The story," Wilson reported, "deals with the 1885 Rebellion and like the Hudson's Bay picture, is somewhat fictional." Wilson witnessed the burning of Carlton House, which involved a small scale model of the actual set depicting the HBC post. The other film, which was being shot near Winnipeg that summer, was Michael Powell's *49th Parallel,* with Raymond Massey, Leslie Howard and Laurence Olivier as a French-Canadian trapper who keeps saying "By Gar!" One scene in the film involved the capture, by Nazi submarine men, of an HBC post in the North.

The Beaver for December 1940 (Outfit 271) featured, on the cover, John Sutton and Gene Tierney, the lovers from *Hudson's Bay,* and a selection of "stills" from the film on several inside pages, including views of the *Nonsuch* leaving London and Radisson (Paul Muni) describing the glories of the fur trade to Prince Rupert (Nigel Bruce) and Charles II (Vincent Price). Another photo at the rear of that issue shows HBC officials presenting "Point" blankets to the stars on the set in Hollywood.

The Beaver could easily be accused of "going Hollywood" in that December 1940 issue which also included a photograph of film star Jimmy Stewart posing with Temagami Post Manager Hugh M. Ross in front of the Company's store.

Clifford Wilson himself had mixed feelings about his role as "technical adviser" to the stars. Writing in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March 1942, he noted that C.W. Jefferys, the noted illustrator of historical subjects, had objected to certain inaccuracies in the

Hudson's Bay film. "One serious error is observable", Jefferys had written. "The Governor appears riding in an elaborate 'carosse' or seventeenth-century coach ... There was certainly no 'carosse' in Montreal around 1670."

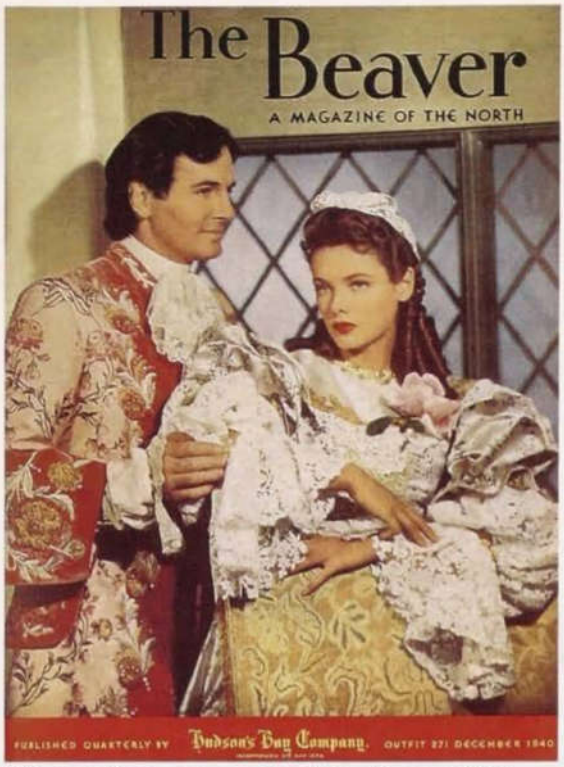
Wilson was sympathetic to the Jefferys complaint, but actual front-line service in Hollywood had taught him, the hard way, that the role of a technical adviser, like the lot of a policeman, it not always a happy one. "The job of a technical adviser on an historical picture," he wrote wistfully, "is a curious one ... The advice they give is sometimes taken, but not often. There are three stock excuses offered for not taking such advice: 1. It won't photograph well; 2. It costs too much; 3. Nobody is going to notice it anyway."

So it was that, Wilson having called for real birch-bark canoes, the film actually featured ordinary canvas canoes borrowed from M.G.M. and covered with fake birch bark. "The flintlocks," Wilson noted, "had a curious history. They were originally made in large quantities for the troops of Emperor Haile Selassie, to defend his kingdom against the machine guns of the Italians. When that war finished, the manufacturers found that they had great numbers of these flintlocks on hand, so they sold them in batches to the various movie companies."

For the editor of a magazine that prided itself on the accuracy of its historical information, the Hollywood job must have been frustrating in the extreme. "I notice," Wilson wrote, "that Mr. Jefferys mentions that there was no governor's coach in Montreal at that time. I did point this out to them, but you couldn't expect a movie producer to do without such a picturesque object when he had a chance of using it. Such digressions from historical fact were neatly summed up by the art director, when he said in response to my complaints, 'We are not interested in accuracy so much as atmosphere.'"

20th Century Fox

Prince Rupert (Nigel Bruce) and King Charles II (Vincent Price) listen spellbound to tales of the fur trade spun by Pierre Radisson (Paul Muni).



20th Century Fox

"The Beaver" as movie magazine with Gene Tierney and John Sutton on the cover.

Wilson objected to the "buckskin uniforms" worn by the Indians "and hair parted in the middle and hanging in two plaits" — all to no avail. "It was," he noted "so much easier to buy fifty or one hundred wigs all of the same pattern, that this was the plan followed."

Wilson suggested blanket capotes for the winter scenes. "They made one up for Lord Crewe out of a Hudson's Bay 'Point' blanket and trimmed it with fur to give it the lordly touch; but when Mr. Zanuck saw it he didn't like it and ordered a substitute made, consisting of what looked to me like rubber with a fur trimming." There was trouble with the paddling of the canoes and Paul Muni fell into the lake, a body of water on the back lot that had previously served as Lake Michigan at the time of the Chicago Fire, the Thames at London and the beach at Dunkirk.

"After a while," *The Beaver* editor noted ruefully, "I found that mere suggestions did little good, and the only way to get any action was to get tough."

Hudson's Bay, in fact, got off fairly lightly with the critics and Wilson reported that some of the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern men had commented favourably on the paddling techniques of the Hollywood Indians. There was general agreement that *Hudson's Bay,* with all its faults, was a model of accuracy compared to De Mille's *North West Mounted Police.* That epic, C.W. Jefferys declared, was "a masterpiece of misinformation." ◆

'BLUENOSE' TO 'PACIFIC SWIFT'

Daughters of the Wind

Bill Wolferstan tells the thrilling saga of Canada's magnificent schooners

Canadians have had a special love for schooners ever since *Bluenose* defeated all comers in the International Fisherman's Schooner Races of the 1920s and 1930s. These races stirred more excitement in the world of sail than the America's Cup races. Before *Bluenose,* many Americans believed that their Gloucester boats were the fastest schooners in the world. With Nova Scotia Captain Angus Walters at the helm, *Bluenose* corrected this impression, proving she was "just as good". In the last leg of her last race in 1938, *Bluenose* logged an average speed of 14.15 knots, at that time the fastest pace over a fixed course by a canvassed vessel. Kenneth Giggal closed his review of 40 of the world's most famous sailing ships (*Great Classic Sailing Ships*) with this description of *Bluenose*: "she was a classic sailing ship in every sense of the term, a marvel of design and performance so far ahead of every other sailing vessel in her class as to be virtually out of sight ... she was possibly the last truly great sailing ship ever built."

Canadian schooner tradition is tied to our history. Two hundred years ago, topsail schooners helped many Loyalists escape to Canada from the newly independent United States. These vessels were a main line of defence that kept the Canadian colonies from becoming American territories. In the War of 1812, our privateer schooners helped beat back attempted invasions; the most successful being the relatively tiny *Black Joke* which managed to sink or capture over 100 American merchant ships. These schooners evolved into fishing vessels working off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. They proved to be incredibly fast and so efficient that even after the advent of powered craft they were still used for fishing and cargo carrying. There are several instances of these schooners overtaking steam passenger vessels in mid-Atlantic.

Without the example of the America's Cup competition, Canadians would never have suggested a challenge for fast fishing schooners, and we might never have built *Bluenose.* During the 1920 America's Cup races, East Coast fishermen were disappointed with the apparent manipulation of the rules to prevent contestants from racing in moderate winds. They believed that the deciding race had been postponed when the wind exceeded 20 knots because the American boat did best in light airs and risked losing unless the rules were changed or "re-interpreted". Schooner fishermen considered 20 knots just a fresh breeze and regularly sailed their open dories loaded with cod in such conditions.

A challenge for the North Atlantic Fisherman's International Trophy was put forward by Senator William H. Dennis, owner of the *Halifax Herald* newspaper. The intention was that this competition would serve to further "the development of the most practical and serviceable type of fishing schooner combined with the best sailing qualities without sacrificing utility" for the deep sea fishing industry. It was to be "A Race For Real Sailors" and the rules would be the ones the seamen knew best — the rules of the road as practised every day at sea. The courses were to be similar in length and lay-out to the America's Cup, but it was hoped that "sharp-talking yachting lawyers" would not be involved, and the rules would not be changed unless clearly agreed to by all parties. Only *bona fide* working fishing schooners with fishermen crews would be eligible and to qualify contestants had to spend at least three months at sea fishing.

The first series of races was set for October 1920 at the end of the Banks fishing season. Enormous crowds lined the Halifax waterfront to see the Gloucester schooner *Esperanto* triumph over the Canadian schooner *Delawana* and take the International

SALTS

"Robertson II" sailing out of Victoria Harbour.

Fisherman's Trophy to the United States. While Americans celebrated, dismayed Canadians vowed to win back the cup.

That winter, a young amateur boat designer from Halifax produced plans for a new fishing schooner. William Roue had no formal training in marine architecture. He had begun building boats from shingles at the age of five and had devoured Dixon-Kemp's manuals on naval architecture shortly after being expelled from school. Roue's design was unique — the ultimate step in the evolution of these schooners — designed both to spend a long time at sea fishing and to qualify for the race. The original plans have since disappeared and the builders probably worked from a half-model "as close to the Roue lines as we knew how". She was to be called *Bluenose*, a name derived from the blue markings left when Nova Scotia fishermen wiped their noses with their homemade, blue-dyed mittens worn during the cold weather trips to the fishing grounds.

On 26 March 1921 *Bluenose* was launched. She was the 121st fishing schooner to come from the Smith & Rhuland yard in Lunenburg, and she was built entirely of Nova Scotia wood, except for her Oregon pine spars. By the end of April *Bluenose* was off to the Banks, engaged in her primary occupation, and Angus Walters, principal owner, was at the wheel.

Angus Walters was widely acknowledged to be a "prime sailor" and fishermen vied for the privilege of serving under him. Claude Darrach, author of *Race to Fame,* has noted: "To what extent Captain Angus Walters personally realized the outstanding qualities he possessed in the art of sailing large schooners is unknown. He acted modestly but there was the power of command in his orders and 'suggestions'. His colleagues, the captains of other schooners and the dorymen, had great respect for his judgement and seamanship. He was never openly critical of the way other

Top: Captain Angus Walters appeared with "Bluenose" on a Canadian 37-cent stamp issued in 1988. Bottom: "Bluenose" has been on the Canadian ten-cent piece since 1937.

The design for the famous 1929 "Bluenose" Canadian postage stamp, based on two Wallace R. MacAskill photographs taken in 1922.

"Bluenose II" at sea. Captain Wayne Angus Walters, grandson of the famous "Bluenose" Captain Angus Walters, was recently named Master of "Bluenose II".

people [fishermen] operated." It could be added that he also had little use for rule manipulation by race committees or comments by some of the media covering the international races. Although his language was often abrasive, sarcastic, and sometimes unprintable, he was always self-controlled and forthright. "I never wanted to be better than any other man," he would say, "I always wanted to be just as good."

Bluenose was first and foremost a fishing boat and the men who raced her were the men who fished the Grand Banks in all seasons and all weather. Fishing schooners at this time generally carried up to 12 dories stacked in two piles amidships. Most dories were 15 foot (measured along the bottom), or approximately 20 feet overall length, and had a capacity to hold a ton of fish. These dories would be launched over the side, each taking two crew members to tend a trawl line up to five miles from the schooner. The skipper, cook, and possibly one or two fish cleaners, were left to sail the schooner under the four "lowers" — mainsail, foresail, jumbo and jib. Hours or days later when the dories finished fishing they returned to the schooner or were picked up — unless fog, wind, driving snow or too many fish had claimed them, a not uncommon fate.

One of the most famous Nova Scotia dorymen was Howard Blackburn who lost his schooner (the Gloucester boat, *Grace L. Fears*) in a blizzard in 1883. After two days rowing into a strong northeast wind, his dorymate weakened and froze to death. Blackburn kept bailing and knocking the ice off the gunnels to prevent the dory from sinking. He inadvertently bailed his mittens overboard but eventually reached the coast of Newfoundland five days later with his hands frozen around the oars and rubbed through to the bone. He subsequently lost all of his fingers, parts of his thumbs, and most of his toes ... but kept his sanity — and his nose — proving himself a true "bluenoser" in all respects. In 1899 he single "handed" or, more accurately, "wrist-sailed", a 30-foot sloop across the Atlantic to England. He eventually returned and ended his days as a tavern keeper in New England.

Gordon Thomas has noted in his book: *Fast & Able: Life Stories of Great Gloucester Fishing Vessels,* that "Gloucester fishing captains were the greatest mariners in the world." It is not well known that while some of the New England schooner designers and the majority of Gloucester fishermen at this time were migrants from Canada, virtually all of the Gloucester schooner captains were also from Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. These included the skippers of the American boats in the International races, Marty Welch, Clayton Morrissey and Ben Pine, as well as ten of the twelve most prominent skippers featured in Thomas's book.

Fishing the Grand Banks was an extremely hard life

Bill Wolferstan

Painting of "Pacific Swift" by John Horton.

but jobs were scarce and work was where you found it. In one year, 1879, 29 schooners from Gloucester sank with the loss of 249 lives. After one particularly bad storm in which 13 schooners were lost, the *Cape Ann Advertiser* related how the widow of one of the drowned skippers spoke for all:

> I was many weeks ere I could make up my mind that my husband would not come again. I have watched the vessels from my window, praying for God to bring him back. He did not want to go on the trip, but was over-persuaded by his crew, who were all first-class men, and wished to be earning. He seemed to have a warning that it would be a disastrous trip; but what could he do? He was in debt and wished to settle. I feel that it is all well with him in Heaven, and feeling assured of this, I shall strive my best to so live and bring up our children, that we shall meet him there ... But I do miss him so much — it seems as if he must enter that door. No one can tell how lonely I am, but thank God I can pray, and this gives me strength to believe that the God of the widow and fatherless will not forsake me.

In winter or when the fishing was poor, the schooners traded, often racing down to the West Indies and back to Nova Scotia in under 30 days. Boats and men were pushed to the limit, not just for economic reasons, but for the sheer love of sailing fast. Wendell Bradley, author of *They Live by the Wind,* talked to the last seamen of working sail and singled out the Grand Banks fishermen for their "skills, the perfection of their vessels, the flair and style in their sailing ... they were captivated by the power and beauty of their schooners in a breeze". One skipper was notorious for losing deckloads of coal. He hated to shorten sail — which would have saved the coal but slowed the schooner. "Many a time I've seen him standing there in a good breeze ignoring the coal washing off to leeward and yelling 'Now she's driving, boy! Now she's driving!'" Bradley wrote. "He loved to sail. Gloried in it."

When *Bluenose* returned at the end of the 1921 fishing season, she was the undisputed highliner of the fleet. For several years she landed catches exceeding 300 tons of fish and she still holds the record for the largest fish catch ever taken into Lunenburg. She had proved she was a fisherman, now she had to prove that she was fast.

"'Bluenose' Close Hauled". This Wallace R. MacAskill photograph is dated 1931, but is strikingly similar to the schooner on the left in the 1929 "Bluenose" 50-cent stamp.

Wallace R. MacAskill / National Art Limited

In October, elimination races were held to determine which schooner would represent Canada and which would represent the United States. *Bluenose* beat nine other schooners in two races to earn the right to challenge the top schooner from New England — *Elsie.* In the first race the Gloucester boat lost her foretopmast. Captain Walters, in the interests of keeping the race "fair and square," doused his own foretopsail, still winning by 13 minutes. *Bluenose* won the second race by

Wallace R. MacAskill / National Art Limited

"Starboard Lookout" shows "Bluenose" battling a storm off Sable Island in 1933. Wallace MacAskill had himself tied to the ship in order to create this remarkable image of life at sea.

11 minutes and returned the trophy to Canada where it has remained ever since. *Bluenose* and Angus successfully defended the trophy through several more race series over the next 17 years. Considerable sums of money were spent both by Canadians and Americans to design and build a boat to beat *Bluenose,* but it was all to no avail. Her rivals were a large number of fast and able schooners, both from Nova Scotia ports as well as from the United States, particularly *Elsie, Henry Ford, Columbia,* and *Gertrude L. Thebaud,* all from Gloucester. After these races Angus observed: "The wood ain't growin' yet that'll beat *Bluenose*!"

In 1933, *Bluenose* made a triumphal tour up the St. Lawrence River and into the Great Lakes where she represented Canada at the World's Fair in Chicago. Two years later she sailed across the Atlantic to participate in the Silver Jubilee celebrations for King George V and Queen Mary at the royal review of the fleet off Spithead. *Bluenose* was the only sailing vessel lined up with hundreds of warships of the Royal Navy, and Angus Walters was later summoned by his monarch for a private audience aboard the royal yacht *Britannia,* possibly to discuss any strategies Angus might have for taking the America's Cup.

Bluenose's life was not all glory, however. She once ran aground off the Newfoundland coast where she was battered for four days, and was several times heavily damaged by storms at sea. After her career as a fisherman had ended she left Lunenburg in 1942 and took up a new life as a coastal trader in the Caribbean. Four years later she hit a reef off Haiti and sank. The era of the Grand Banks fishing schooners seemed to have come to an end and all Canada mourned her passing.

Although the original *Bluenose* could never be replaced in the minds of Lunenburgers, there was a strong desire in Canada to build something to remember her by. *Bluenose II* was built by Oland & Sons, a Halifax brewery, as a replica in 1963 in the same Smith & Rhuland yard that built the original ship. Her outside dimensions are virtually identical, and most of the wood is from Nova Scotia, with British Columbia Douglas fir spars. Her accommodation does not resemble the original, however, as her primary role is to promote the province of Nova Scotia, requiring more yacht-like appointments below decks.

Ownership of *Bluenose II* was transferred by Oland & Sons Limited to the Province of Nova Scotia in 1971 for consideration of $1.00. A condition of the Deed of Gift stipulates that the replica shall not engage in any races, so as not to detract from the undefeated record of the original *Bluenose.* When based in Halifax, *Bluenose II* took tens of thousands of passengers on board for harbour sails every year, until the summer of 1994, when she remained berthed at the main wharf of the Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic in Lunenburg. She appeared to be nearing the end of her active life, with portions of her hull suffering from rot and distorted by hogging (sagging timbers). Last October, the Bluenose II Preservation Trust had *Bluenose II* hauled out and inspected and this January, extensive repair work, involving the replacement of 51 frames and planking amidships, was completed at Lunenburg Marine Railway by Snyder's Shipyard Limited of Dayspring on the LaHave River, Lunenburg County. This conventional repair work was carried out using traditional materials and methods, such that she will be approved by the Canadian Coast Guard for a Home Trade Voyage, Class I Certificate, which carries a top term of four years. She was to be ready for the G-7 meeting of Western leaders in Halifax this June 5-17.

Fears of losing *Bluenose II* have led both the Nova Scotia government and a private group — the Bluenose

Pride Seafaring Co-operative — to consider building a replacement with costs estimated between $5-8 million. The government plans for a replacement *Bluenose III* are temporarily on hold pending the successful repair work on *Bluenose II*. The Cooperative Plans are for a new wood/epoxy vessel virtually identical to *Bluenose* but with a few concessions to modern technology such as laminated hollow carbon fibre reinforced wooden topmasts and gaffs. The new *Bluenose Pride* vessel is to be built by Covey Island Boatworks. Long range aims of the Co-operative are to resurrect traditional seafaring skills, encourage chartering and the cargo trade, and resurrect the International Races with a new "World Schooner Cup" inviting challenges from all nations, beginning in 1997. Potential challenges for this new cup are reported to be underway from Ontario, the United States, and from the *Bluenose Pride* group. But the first real challenge may come from the West Coast of Canada.

Canadian West Coast schooner tradition is partially derived from the many East Coast schooners which first came around the Horn to Victoria to serve as sealing vessels in the North Pacific over a hundred years ago. Today, another working schooner, slightly smaller but otherwise comparable to *Bluenose,* survives in Victoria, British Columbia — 10,000 nautical miles from her birthplace. *Robertson II,* is the last original Grand Banks fishing schooner still actively sailing in Canada. She was launched from the shipyard of W.G. McKay and Sons in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1940. Her planking was fastened almost entirely by trunnels, and it is partly because she had few metal fastenings and was not compartmentalized — and therefore airflow was not restricted — that she has managed to survive more than 30 years beyond the normal 10-20 year life of a Grand Banks schooner. The wood used in her was also more seasoned, due to construction delay brought on by the onset of war, and her main hold and bilges were pickled by constant immersion in brine from her fishing days.

Robertson II's first captain was Gordon MacKenzie of Lockeport, Shelburne County, Nova Scotia. In March, 1942, she was followed for several hours by a German U-boat. Later, with several other schooners she witnessed submarine attacks on merchant and fishing vessels, yet she survived the war unscathed. For over 30 years she earned her keep fishing for cod, halibut, haddock (mostly) and swordfish in season. In 1966 near the end of her East Coast fishing career, it was the *Robertson II* which last spoke to Chay Blyth and John Ridgeway enroute across the Atlantic in their tiny rowing dory, *English Rose.* Around this time, with a cut-down rig (no topmasts or bowsprit) it could well have been the *Robertson II* which Wendell Bradley so movingly described coming out of the mist in a Grand Banks gale in his book *They Live by the Wind:*

> Her long tapering bow, the flowing lines of her hull, her low profile and pronounced sheer showed her to have been ... a fine example of the Grand Banks schooner, a creature like the *Bluenose* ... She had three sails, a forestaysail, a foresail, and a small triangular sail on her mainmast. She could have carried twice as much sail, and in the old days she would have. But even with her cut-down modern rig, she was moving at ten or eleven knots ... For the first time in many years, probably, her engine was off and she was really sailing. She swept by us majestically, lifting powerfully on the crest of a sea, then almost surfing down it, heeling gently so that her lee rail was close to the water, moving rhythmically, easily, elegantly, with a sailing vessel's characteristic harmonizing of hull, sea, and wind. By the coincidence of a chance meeting in half a gale, which happened to be blowing in a direction she could take full advantage of, I witnessed a sight that had vanished many years before — a Grand Banks fishing schooner, one of the finest vessels ever developed, engaged in the activity she was built for. Most of the crew ... came on deck and watched the other schooner out of sight, even though it meant donning oilskins and braving continuous drenchings. 'Ay', Reggie said, 'we'll na see sight like that again'.

Robertson II was longlining out of Lockeport up until the day she was sold in 1974. Before leaving her home town, she was partially re-rigged at the Smith & Rhuland yard for her voyage west through the Panama. The old shipwrights probably thought to themselves "there goes the last good Nova Scotia fishing schooner. It will probably be left to rot or run aground, or used by some wealthy Westerners as a yacht". Bluenosers, fear not! *Robertson II* has put in twenty years of exceptional service on the West Coast. She will continue sailing throughout this summer, but increasing maintenance demands have dictated that this may be her last year of active service. She is still deeply cared for, and has served to inspire those responsible for her to initiate construction of an identical vessel which one day, will return through Panama for an East Coast visit to honour her *Bluenose* heritage ... and possibly challenge for the new "World Schooner Cup". This $1.3 million project is already well under way with most of her 67 frames built. Visitors to the SALTS Heritage Shipyard will be able to see the new vessel take shape over the next three years.

In 1980, the Sail and Life Training Society (SALTS) was established in Victoria to operate the *Robertson II* for sail training. This society aims to preserve and encourage the link with East Coast Canadian schooner traditions. As Feenie Ziner in her book: *Bluenose: Queen of the Grand Banks,* pointed out, schooner fishermen lived a life that was seldom easy but which

Canada Steamship Lines

The square topsail schooner "Nancy", built at Detroit in 1789 and famous as "the ship that saved the West".

imparted values applicable today: teamwork, discipline, seamanship, and a sense of the balance and wonder of nature. They were, "and in a way remain, a race apart — poor, proud, and possessed of a mysterious link with the source of all life".

It is this link which the Society encourages through its program, by using sail training to help individuals develop both the spiritual and physical dimensions of their lives. The Society's logo shows the silhouette of a schooner sailing wing and wing, or "wung out", with mainsail and foresail balancing each other. Old schoonermen called this "readin' both pages", a harmony of forces which symbolizes the necessity of developing both dimensions in each individual.

Almost ten years ago, in a deliberate step reaching back 200 years to fulfill a symbol of early Canadian schooner tradition, SALTS built the topsail schooner *Pacific Swift* as a working exhibit at EXPO '86 in Vancouver and launched her before 30,000 cheering well-wishers. *Pacific Swift*'s maiden voyage was to EXPO '88 in Brisbane, Australia, and since then she has re-visited the South Pacific, including Easter and Pitcairn Islands and the Galapagos, and concluded a two year trip which saw her sharing the locks of the St. Lawrence Seaway with *Bluenose II,* undergoing an extensive refit at the Smith & Rhuland yard in Lunenburg, visiting Falmouth and Plymouth, England, and EXPO '92 in Seville, Spain.

Similar topsail schooners on the Great Lakes such as *Hamilton (Diana)* and *Scourge (Lord Nelson)* were featured in the paintings of Peter Rindlisbacher (*The Beaver,* June/July 1991). HMS *Bee* and the new *Tecumseth* are famous schooner replicas dating from the War of 1812 era which offer sailtraining and historical re-enactment experiences from Discovery Harbour at Penetanguishene on Georgian Bay; and there are plans to build a replica of the topsail schooner *Nancy* — "the ship that saved the West" — famous for her relief of Mackinac during the War of 1812.

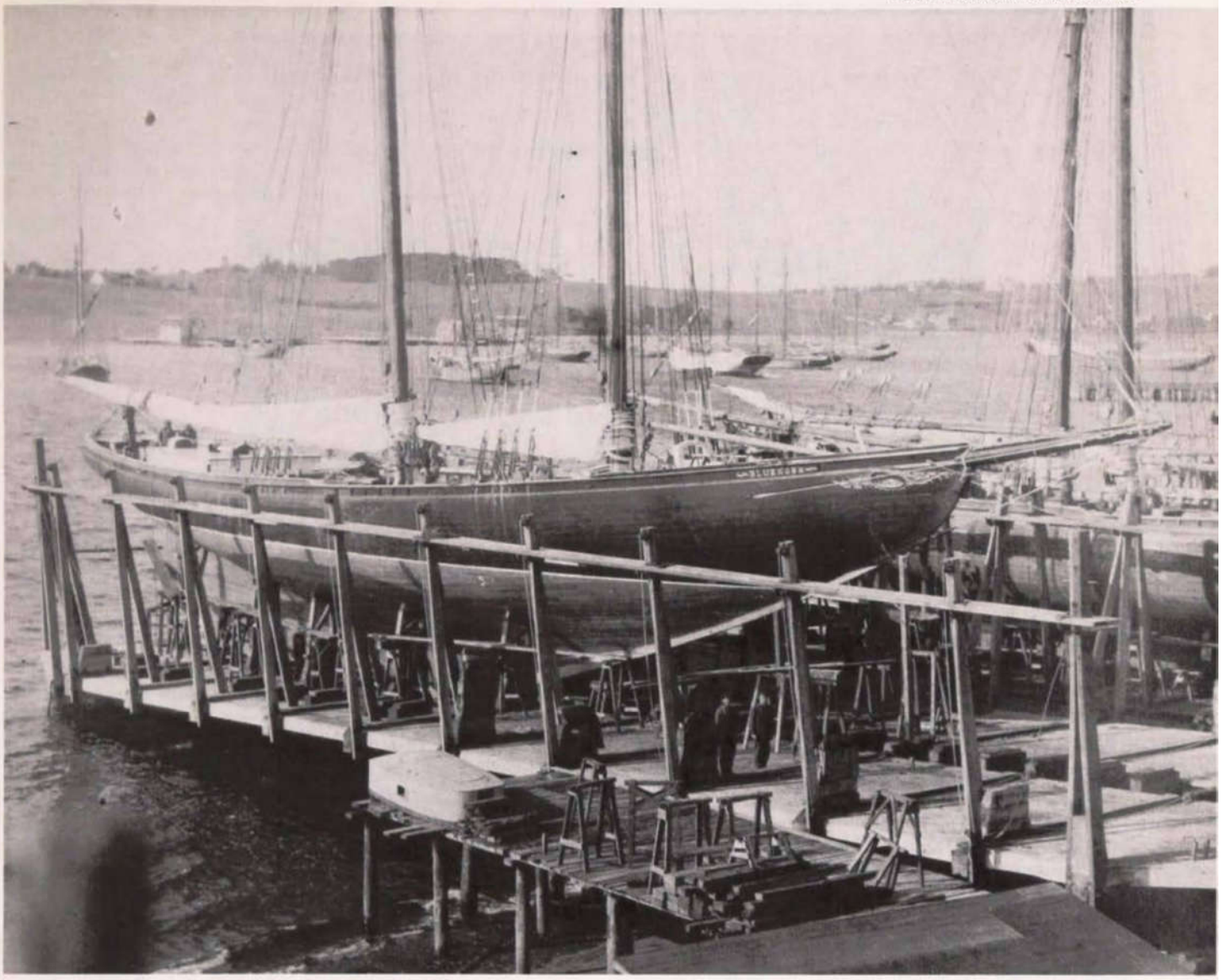
Schooner tradition seems set to carry on, albeit as an endangered and protected species. For most Canadians, however, the name of *Bluenose* will always hold special significance, as it does for sailors around the world. In almost every major seaport in the world her name is commemorated, from the Bluenose Restaurant in Yokohama, Japan to the Bluenose Pub in Den Helder, Holland.

It has been said that the Cape Breton Islander, Wallace R. MacAskill, through his photographs of the Canadian Maritime schooner fleets, captured the romance of the sea as no one else has done before or since. His photographs won hundreds of international awards — in one year alone no less than 74 "MacAskills" appeared in international exhibitions in 27 countries.

In 1929 the Canadian government chose two MacAskill photographs as the basis for a composite engraving of the *Bluenose* for a 50-cent stamp, widely acclaimed as "the world's most beautiful" by international philatelic societies. The official purpose of the stamp was to commemorate three important phases of Nova Scotia life and industry: fisheries, ship-building and seamanship. Many have thought that the schooner trailing to the left of the *Bluenose* was the fastest of the American challengers, the *Columbia.* But she in fact, is also the *Bluenose,* as captured by MacAskill during the Canadian Elimination Race of 1922, when she carried the number 2 at the peak of her mainsail. The *Bluenose* on the right shows her in the International Fisherman's Race of 1923, when she was No. 1. Critics have pointed out that the stamp shows both schooners in an illogical pose, close-hauled on different courses; but Post Office officials explained that vessels sailing close in-shore (as in the races off Halifax harbour) could meet winds of different direction in close proximity to each other. This stamp was duplicated on a 60-cent 1982 commemorative for the International Philatelic Youth Exhibition.

In 1988 two other MacAskill photographs were

Wallace R. MacAskill / National Art Limited



"'Bluenose on the slip at Lunenburg", date unknown. In the background are a few of the fishing schooners, and one three-masted tern schooner. At the turn of the century Lunenburg was home to more than 200 fishing schooners — one of the greatest deep-sea fishing fleets in the world. By the time "Bluenose" was built the Lunenburg fleet had dwindled to fewer than 100 vessels.

chosen as the basis for a 37-cent stamp honouring Angus Walter, captain of the *Bluenose.*

Another MacAskill *Bluenose* photograph was chosen as the model for the 1937 ten-cent piece. The *Bluenose* has shared the surface of the Canadian dime with the reigning monarch since that time — the longest circulation of any Canadian coin.

There are also more varieties of *Bluenose* ship models in kit form, and more ship models and half-models (in total) of *Bluenose* than of any other single ship in the world. Over 40,000 *Bluenose* model-kits, of one shape or another, are sold worldwide, every year. A wandering Canadian once found one of the half-hull models on the wall of an obscure woodcutter's hut in the middle of Mexico, miles from the sea. "Do you know the name of that vessel?" he asked the Mexican. "Of course" the woodcutter replied. "That was the fastest sailing vessel ever built. She was called *Bluenose*." ◆

Bill Wolferstan, a freelance writer based in Victoria, B.C., has written three cruising guides to the British Columbia coast.

Pierre LeMoyne, Scourge of the English

A Hero of New France

From Hudson Bay to the Mississippi this soldier-seaman served his king

By IAN McCULLOCH

The young French-Canadian captain felt his blood chill as he realized the three approaching warships were British and not his own. He studied them through his glass. Two of them were armed merchantmen of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the third, a powerful Royal Navy frigate, HMS *Hampshire,* 52 guns. He knew the latter ship. He had captured her a few years back.

He glanced landwards at the English fort he had come to capture and checked the wind gauge. He appeared trapped. But he had no intention of surrendering. He quickly ordered his 50 guns run out and had his helmsman lay course for the lead ship. Perhaps he could break through the British squadron and marry up with his own ships sailing down Hudson Bay from the north.

He ordered more sail and his rakish frigate coursed ahead, foam creaming around her bow. As the spray came back over the proud figurehead of a diving pelican with outstretched wings, the young captain changed his mind. He would board the *Hampshire* rather than wait for the combined cannon of the British ships to pound his ship into splinters. He gave the order.

The *Hampshire*'s captain, however, quickly deduced his opponent's intent and sheered off at the last minute. Sails slightly aback, the British ship's broadside was ill-timed, fired on an upswell. Round shot went screaming through the French ship's tops'ls and rigging. Ropes, tackle and blocks fell thudding to the deck as his own gun batteries fired at point blank range into the yawing British frigate. Each shot struck home and his gunners scrambled to sponge, load and run out again. He ordered every second gun be reloaded with chain and grape shot, then steered so that he would pass between the two remaining ships. He fired a thunderous broadside at each, the *Dering,* 30 guns, and the *Hudson's Bay,* 32 guns. The gauntlet run, the young captain confidently brought his ship about and turned to face the *Hampshire* again. He now had the wind gauge.

For the next three hours all four ships fought until reduced to floating wrecks. At last the captain of the *Hampshire* decided the impudent Frenchman must be boarded and closed the range. The *Hampshire* fired a broadside which went high and carried away the French foretop and mizzen mast. The French ship answered in kind, her broadside directed with deadly aim at the British ship's waterline. The *Hampshire*'s hull was punctured and she quickly took on water. Lower than normal in the water, she struck a shoal and promptly sank with all hands.

The sudden destruction of their flagship took the fight out of the HBC ships. The *Hudson's Bay* struck her colours while the *Dering* made a run for it. The French ship, taking on water herself, was unable to pursue and thus had to content herself with sending a prize crew over to the *Hudson's Bay.* So ended the greatest arctic sea battle in North American history. The year was 1697.

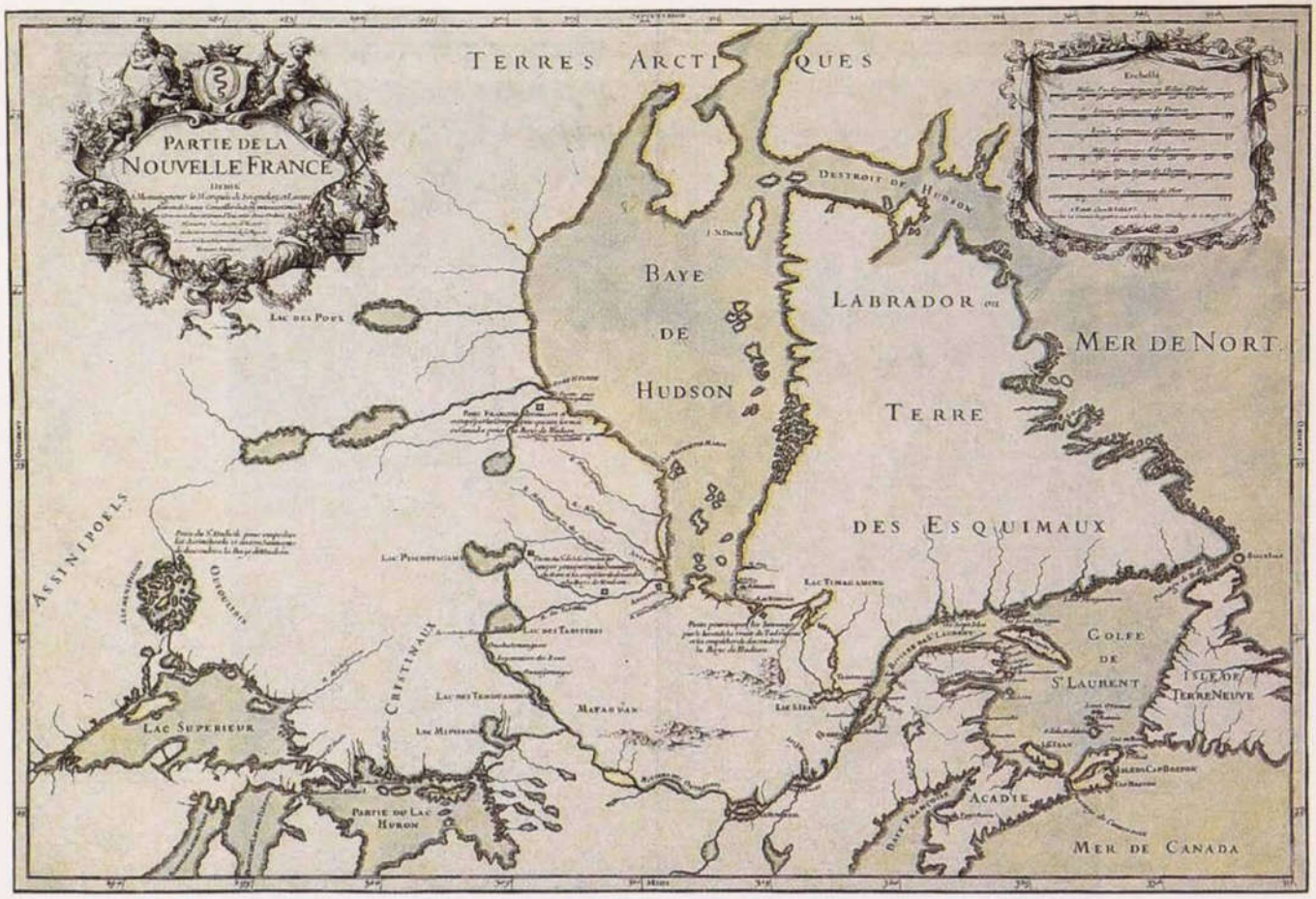
HBC Archives

"The Battle in the Bay", 1697. Painted for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1936 by Norman Wilkinson. "Pélican" (right) and "Hampshire" at close quarters, "Pélican" delivering the coup de grace.

He has been called "the Cid of New France" and "the Jean Bart of Canada", his achievements and feats of endurance so numerous and so extraordinary that if they were not well-documented, most would find it hard to believe they ever happened. Not only was he a sailor, but also a soldier, a leader of men, a conqueror, a frontiersman, a businessman, an explorer, the founder of a colony and a diplomat. Surprisingly, few Canadians have ever heard of Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur D'Iberville.

Born on 20 July 1661 at Longueuil, Pierre was the third and most famous of twelve sons born to Catherine Primot and Charles LeMoyne. His father, Charles, was a courageous leader in the fledgling colony with a seigneury on the south shore of the St. Lawrence facing the island of Montreal. Arriving four years after Maisonneuve founded Montreal in 1642, Charles LeMoyne made a name for himself as guide, interpreter and trader. Captured by the Iroquois in 1665, Iberville's father, using sheer bluff and guile, talked himself out of certain torture and death by threatening dire retribution. Instead, he was returned with honour to Montreal, accompanied by his Iroquois captors suing for peace.

Young Iberville was educated by the Sulpician Fathers in Montreal and became well-versed in Latin, literature and rhetoric, though military texts were his favourite. That his studies bore fruit is evidenced by his numerous letters and memoirs composed in a clear and vigorous style. Physically, he is described as being of strong physique "well-developed by martial exercises"; handsome, with an oval face of clear complexion framed by a shock of blonde hair; and having a cheerful disposition tempered with fierce piety and loyalty. The only image of him, executed in 1702 while he was at the height of his career, shows a leader of men with eyes of steel. He also wears France's highest decoration for gallantry of the day — the Cross of Saint Louis — the first Canadien to receive the award.



National Archives of Canada

Frenchmen considered the Hudson's Bay Company traders to be trespassers in New France, as this map of 1685 indicates.

At age twelve Iberville was put to work in his father's various fur trading posts and soon was skippering the family's trading bark up and down the St. Lawrence. In 1676, aged 14, Iberville was sent to France to receive formal training as an officer in the French Navy. After seven years of service in the king's ships, Iberville returned to New France in 1683 at the age of 22 to find his birthplace flexing its muscles.

Since the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 and its establishment of fur "factories" along the shores of the great Bay, trouble had been brewing. After fifteen years, the efforts of British and French fur traders to profit from the fur-rich area watered by the river emptying into the Bay had become one-sided. In 1682 the English were in possession of five forts strategically located at the mouth of the Moose, Rupert, Albany, Severn and Hayes rivers. Too much trade was being diverted from Montreal.

In desperation, the city merchants banded together to form La Compagnie du Nord and were soon lobbying the French Court to protect their interest. King Louis XIV himself wrote to Governor La Barre in 1683 recommending that he take "positive steps" to prevent any further English encroachments on the Bay. In effect, he was winking an eye at any military operations that might be undertaken by his frustrated subjects in North America while France remained at peace with England in Europe.

In 1684, La Barre sent Iberville to France with dispatches for the Minister of Marine and Colonies in which he described the bearer as "a young man very conversant with the sea, admirably well-acquainted with the river [the St. Lawrence] who has already carried and brought several ships to and from France". The dispatches also requested Iberville be given command of a ship and concluded "he is capable of doing good service, and it is of importance that you have in the service persons who are thoroughly knowledgeable of the country".

Unfortunately the coveted command failed to materialize, but Iberville found that the explosive situation he had left in New France would give him ample opportunities to shine. On Iberville's return in 1685, Louis XIV had taken the step of granting La Compagnie du Nord the district around Port Nelson (York Factory) as its own, a move designed to provoke confrontation.

The Marquis de Denonville, Governor La Barre's enthusiastic replacement, quickly gave in to French fur traders clamouring for action and drew up a memoran-

dum for the king and his ministers outlining an ambitious overland expedition to attack the Moose and Rupert posts on James Bay while Port Nelson was attacked independently from the sea. Without waiting for approval, Denonville launched his military expedition the following spring. He placed the Chevalier Pierre de Troyes, a newly arrived regular officer, in overall command. His principal officers were to be Pierre d'Iberville and two of his brothers, Jacques de Sainte-Helene and Paul de Maricourt with the Canadien contingent, and Lieutenant Gedeon de Catalogne, commanding 30 French regulars. The chaplaincy was assigned to Father Antoine Silvy who has left us a detailed account of the expedition.

In addition to capturing the British posts, Troyes was also instructed to arrest any *coureur de bois* who had deserted to the English, including the well-known Pierre Esprit Radisson. It was to be the first northern military operation of its kind in Canadian history.

The expedition's route took them 800 miles through rugged wilderness and down raging rivers still clogged with melting winter ice. Innumerable portages had to be made where there were no cleared trails. At one stage of the journey the men became mutinous. According to the priest, Iberville and his brothers took charge and "remotivated" the men, though he does not record the exact words used.

Eighty-two days after leaving Montreal, the small force sighted its first objective — the HBC fort on the Moose River (Moose Factory). It was a substantial construction, rectangular in shape with four bastions and sited on a rise of ground thirty paces from the river and about 18 miles from the sea. In the centre was a formidable three-storey redoubt with cannon mounted on its roof.

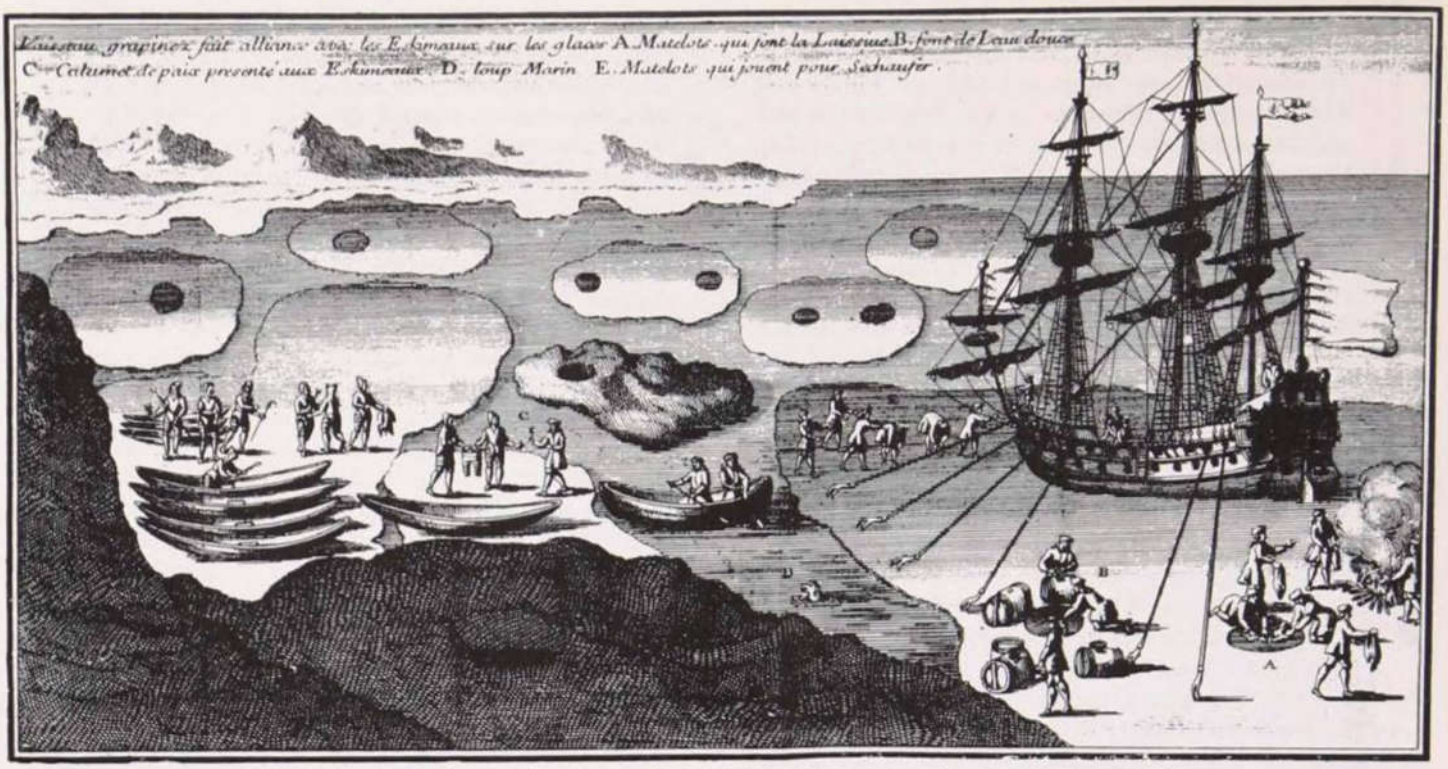
But surprise was on Troyes' side. In addition, the fort's small garrison was leaderless as the Deputy Governor, John Bridgar, and most of the fort's officers had just sailed on the sloop *Craven* for Charles Fort (Rupert House) the previous day. The Canadiens, led by Iberville and his brothers, easily scaled the walls at night and, after a short, token resistance, the leaderless HBC men in the central redoubt surrendered.

Buoyed by his success, Troyes decided that Charles Fort on the Rupert would be his next objective. His prisoners told him it was ill-provisioned and poorly guarded. By contrast, they said, the Albany Fort farther to the north, would be a tougher nut to crack. It was heavily armed and well-provisioned for a siege. Troyes decided to make a quick descent on the Rupert fort, capture the sloop *Craven,* and thus have a means of transporting the cannon he had just captured to Albany Fort. That would sway the odds in his favour.

Leaving 40 men behind to garrison his new acquisition, Troyes' force struck out in canoes for Charles Fort, 75 miles up the east coast of James Bay. The fort was another easy conquest, a repair ladder having been left conveniently against one of the outer walls. Iberville, as the senior naval officer, was entrusted with the "cutting out" of the *Craven,* a job he undertook with much relish. Iberville led his small band of Canadiens stealthily over the side of the sloop in pitch blackness. They quickly gagged and trussed a sleeping sentry, then stamped on the deck to rouse the sleeping crew below. After a short sharp fight, the ship was theirs and the crew of 15 half-clad men made prisoner, including John Bridgar.

Iberville then took command of the *Craven* for the risky assault on the most heavily armed of the three HBC posts on James Bay — Albany Fort. Ninety miles distant, finding the fort from the sea was no mean feat of navigation for the young officer. The coast was low and uninviting with shoals and reefs thrusting their muddy fingers out to sea. At low tide, the ocean receded great distances from the shore and no one

Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville.


Vaisseau grapinez fait alliance avec les Esquimaux sur les glaces A. Matelots qui font la Lessive B. font de l'eau douce
C. Calumet de paix presenté aux Esquimaux D. loup Marin E. Matelots qui jouent pour s'echauffer

"Pélican" trapped in the ice at the entrance to Hudson Bay, from La Potherie's "Histoire de l'Amerique", 1722.

knew the exact location of the fort, not even the Indian guides. Fortunately, the gunners of Albany Fort indulging in some desultory cannon practice, obligingly pinpointed their location for Troyes' anxious force which had gone on ahead in canoes.

Landing the heavy artillery, Troyes and Iberville erected a battery which dropped 140 shots into the beleaguered fort in the space of a few hours. The bravest HBC man, the chaplain, emerged during a pause in the bombardment with a flag of surrender. Outgoing Governor Henry Sergeant (Bridgar was his replacement) met with Troyes to discuss terms which resulted in the English being allowed to retain only their personal possessions and being given safe passage to Charlton Island where they could await the next Company supply ship.

Iberville was left with 40 men to look after the three posts, while Troyes and the rest marched back to Montreal and a hero's welcome. After an uneventful winter, Iberville returned to Quebec in 1687 and took passage to France to take command of a new ship, the *Soleil d'Afrique*. But he returned to the Bay that summer to bring out the furs he had consolidated at Albany Fort during the previous winter. Not yet thirty, Iberville's reputation was now well established. He would personally lead four more expeditions to Hudson Bay in 1688, 1690, 1694 and 1697 respectively, each meeting with various degrees of success.

Perhaps the best known, the 1694 and 1697 expeditions, were both witnessed by a young Henry Kelsey of the HBC. The 1694 capture of Port Nelson (York Factory) was achieved without bloodshed. Under the command of Philip Parsons, the HBC garrison was grandiosely titled the "Independent Company of Foot", a body made up mostly of fur traders who had been given some elementary musket and cannon drill. Iberville landed his ship's guns and went through the standard practice of erecting batteries on dominating ground and sending in a formal demand for surrender. Kelsey recorded in his journal:

> **Octr ye 3d Wednesday.** Today about noon came one french man & a mohawk Indian wth a flag of truce wth a summons to our governour wch spacefied yt they was ready to Cannonade & Boombard ye fort & if we would not surrender it they would reduce it to ashes & give us no quarter so desired our answer by Eight a Clock ye next morning ...
>
> **Ye 4th Thursday.** This morning Mr. Matthew & I went wth a flag of truce & carryed our articles, wch their cheif perrused then those wch he did not like he altered so demanded ye governour to surrender it up at 4 a Clock in ye afternoon forasmuch as he would not alter his Resolution but would begin to play when ye time was Expired ... so we returned at ten & gott our things in order & at 12 he sent two men to hear our answer so ye Govern.r told ym since he could no longer have time would make ready for his

[Iberville's] Entrance. So accordingly they came & took possession of ye fort. Our Govern.r & 14 more of us was ordered to go up to Mr. Diberveall house in order to pass ye night.

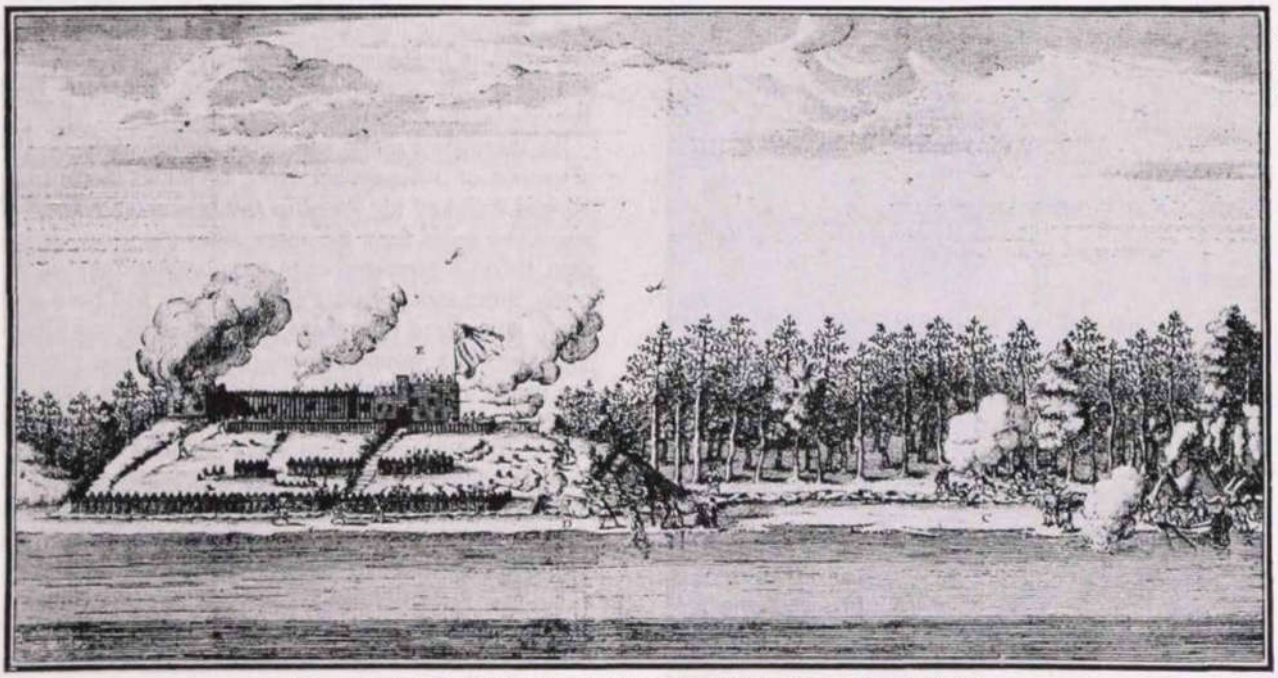
Iberville renamed his new conquest Fort Bourbon and left for France with his hold full of fur pelts. Ten months later during his absence, three Royal Navy frigates under Captain William Allen easily recaptured the fort and, thus, after ten years of see-saw fighting, the French were once again ejected from the Bay.

In the three years that followed, Iberville's reputation in New France was to reach its highest pinnacle. In 1695, his eyes fell upon Newfoundland with its rich fisheries. Since 1506, French ships had been harvesting the Grand Banks. By 1578 there were over 150 French vessels operating out of Placentia Bay. The English too had established many fishing stations along the eastern coast of the island and had linked them with a rough road network.

Iberville, convinced of the economical and strategical worth of Newfoundland, had repeatedly urged Count Frontenac, the current Governor of New France, to remove the English toehold by force. It is also very likely that the fiery captain saw a considerable amount of plunder and prize money to be made from the venture. After considerable negotiations with France, it was arranged that the King's ships would transport a force of men to be raised by Iberville and any plunder taken would accrue to him to help defray his expenses.

Before he could unleash his assembled ships and men on an unsuspecting Newfoundland populace, Iberville was diverted by Frontenac to attack Fort William Henry located at Pemaquid, Maine. This centre was used by the New Englanders to harass the Abnekis, an Indian tribe loyal to the French. Iberville set sail in June 1696 with two frigates, the *Profond* and *Envieux,* and en route encountered three English ships off the mouth of the Saint John River (New Brunswick). They were the *Sorling,* 34 guns, the *Newport,* 24 guns, and a tender from Massachusetts. Despite being outgunned, Iberville went for them like a terrier and in the ensuing engagement dismasted and captured the *Newport.* The *Sorling* and the tender escaped in a fog.

Iberville sailed his leaking prize into what is now Saint John harbour for some makeshift repairs, then took on some more men. Three hundred Maliseet Indians in canoes joined his small armada for the descent on Pemaquid. They arrived on 14 August 1696, their objective a quadrangle-shaped stone fort situated on a promontory overlooking the Pemaquid River. Mounting 16 guns, Fort William Henry was commanded by Captain Pascoe Chubb who defied Iberville's standard summons to surrender with the words he would "fight even if the sea were covered in French ships and the land with Indians". Iberville's men worked through the night erecting mortar and cannon batteries. Chubb, after suffering a light bombardment, reconsidered his brave but rash words of the day before and surrendered.



HBC Archives

French bombardment of York Factory ("Fort de Nelson"), 1697. From La Potherie.

Iberville sent the prisoners to an offshore island for safekeeping, a wise precaution as an Abneki prisoner was found languishing in the fort's prison. His men then completely stripped the fort of its cannon, destroyed the walls and burned its buildings, and distributed captured arms and ammunition amongst their Indian allies. As Iberville departed, the *Sorling* hove in sight with reinforcements, two British men o' war and an armed merchantman, and gave chase. Iberville's two frigates ran for a fog bank and escaped in the falling darkness.

Iberville's postponed raid on Newfoundland was thus launched in the winter of 1696, his mobility and success directly attributable to a secret weapon adopted from the Iroquois — the snowshoe. One of his officers on the expedition, Captain La Potherie, has left us with the only known seventeenth-century drawing of a Canadien militiaman on snowshoes, published in his 1722 *Histoire de l'Amerique ....* The use of snowshoes was significant, as American historian Charles Reed notes:

> The English were completely surprised, for they had not the slightest idea that a land attack was possible, and especially in midwinter, for up to this time they had never seen snowshoes ... For two months [Iberville] led his hardy band through the wintry forests and wind-swept marshes of Newfoundland. Bivouacking in the snow and carrying their provisions and ammunition on their backs as they moved from hamlet to hamlet ... Portugal Cove, Salmon Cove, Havre de Grace, Bay verte, Hearts Content, Old Perlican and twenty other stations fell before the French raiders.

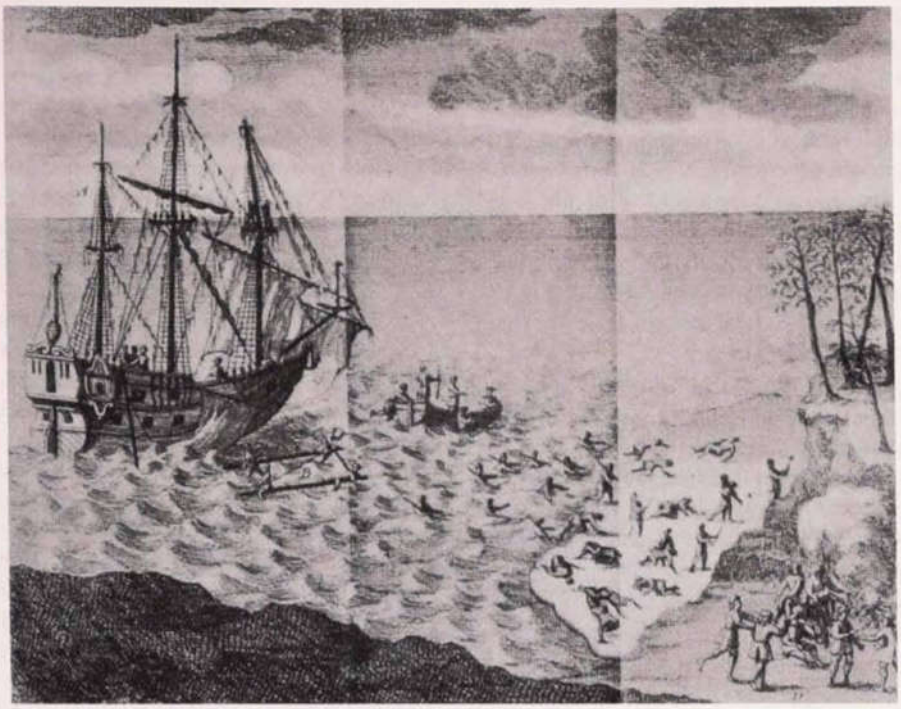
St. John's too soon lay in ruin, Iberville's handpicked force of 130 Canadiens and Indians having conquered some 600 square miles of country. They captured and destroyed 90 vessels, killed 200 men and made another 700 prisoner, and seized 190.000 quintals of codfish. This expedition was the first of many conducted against the island in the next three decades, each executed, more or less, along the same lines as Iberville's raid. None, however, were ever as successful, ruthless or thorough. Reed wrote that "the incursion of Iberville" upon the villages of Newfoundland "resembled nothing less than the fell descent of the Angel of Wrath."

Iberville's raid caused great alarm and consternation throughout New England and as far south as Virginia. In England, outrage over the destruction of the vulnerable colony caused a large fleet to be dispatched after the fact to find Newfoundland villages rubble and desolation. Meanwhile Iberville, his Canadiens, and his ships had gone on to Hudson Bay to fight his final and most famous battle against the HBC and recapture York Factory for the French.

As Iberville's arctic sea battle ended early on the afternoon of 3 September 1697, a vicious storm blew up and wrecked his flagship *Pélican* upon a sandbar some two miles from the shore. Showing great leadership, Iberville remained calm and composed during the crisis. Since most of the *Pélican*'s boats had been shot away, he ordered rafts made from the spars and planking. The many wounded were placed on these precarious platforms, then paddled and pushed to the shore by the others. The chill of the water was so extreme that 18 of the 200 who made it to shore perished from exposure. Iberville then ordered large fires built and tried to re-instil some sense of order and morale to his exhausted force. Desperate for food and shelter, and

National Archives of Canada

Canadien going to war on snowshoes. From La Potherie's "Histoire de l'Amerique ..."



Wreck of the "Pélican" and the escape to the shore after the Battle of Hudson Bay, 1697. From La Potherie.

despite his lack of artillery, Iberville was stubbornly resolved to make an effort to capture the fort.

At this stage such an assault would have been doomed to failure for the fort was of sturdy wooden construction with well-armed bastions on each corner. In line with the outer palisade were two more bastions facing the river. Between these were a half-moon battery of eight guns with another six-gun battery sited at the water's edge. The rest of the fort's armament consisted of 24 cannon, two mortars, and fourteen swivel guns mounted in and on the bastions.

Fortunately, Iberville's desperate scheme was not necessary as the rest of his fleet (the *Profond, Palmier* and *Wesp*) sailed into view four days after the sea battle, bringing food, clothing, munitions of war, and fresh men aplenty for Iberville to mount a proper siege.

Governor Henry Bayly's deputy, Henry Kelsey, was sent to negotiate terms. He reported disgustedly in his Journal:

> Thursday ye 2d fine weather. small breezes So Wt. They begun to play their morter 4 shells then came wth a flag of truce to demand ye fort. Being denyed went their way & fired again till they had hove 15 & we fourteen. Then came again telling us we should have no quarter. We told ym if they would not allow us time to consider we would have none. So ye Govr. drew up a paper & and brought ye platform to satisfie ye men; they should have every one a years pay gratis if they would sign the same & we kept the fort. Some did signe others not & said would not sell their lives for a little money. So sent our articles & in ye Eveng, I, Mr Bishop, and Mr Clark went to their camp to hear their final ansr. So deberveal writt his resolution demanded ye fort by one a clock ye next day & our answer by 8 in ye morng.
>
> Friday ye 3d fair weathr. ditto. Finding such force as nine hundred men, & ye ill tidings of our own ships concluded could not keep it & so agreed to ye articles aforesign'd by monseir [Iberville] and ye Govr. and marcht out by one a clock & ye french took possession of ye fort. This being the end of a Tedious winter and tragical Journal by me Henry Kelsy.

When Iberville sailed away from Hudson Bay in 1697, ownership of York Factory was decided for the next sixteen years and the bold captain would never return to the Bay that had witnessed some of his most daring exploits. When the Treaty of Rijswik of 1697 temporarily ended the dispute between the French and the British over Hudson Bay, Iberville left New France for good. He was followed by four of his brothers; only Charles de Longeuil, soon to be raised to baronial rank, and Paul de Maricourt remained in the colony. Jacques de Sainte-Helene, Francois de Bienville, François-Marie and Louis de Chateauguay had either died or been

killed on the field of battle; the others, Joseph de Serigny, Jean-Baptiste de Bienville, Gabriel d'Assigny and Antoine de Chateauguay left the land of their birth to follow in the footsteps of their distinguished brother. Of these latter four, all save Assigny who died young, played important roles in French colonial history. Serigny attained high rank in the French Navy and died Governor of Rochefort. Chateauguay was long associated with Bienville in Louisiana and later became Governor of French Guiana. Bienville outlived all the brothers and, with the exception of Iberville, enjoyed the greatest distinction. He was appointed Governor of Louisiana three times and is best known in American history as the founder of New Orleans.

On Iberville's arrival in France in 1697, his military exploits and navigational skills had become well-known to the associate Minister of Marine and Colonies, Count de Maurepas. Iberville was seen as the ideal officer to counteract English interest in the lower Mississippi valley by establishing a new French colony on the Gulf of Mexico.

In January 1699 Iberville settled 200 colonists temporarily at Mobile Bay (now in the state of Alabama) and explored the northern coast of the Gulf looking for the mouth of the Mississippi. He quickly discovered the delta of the great river which Lasalle had failed to do from the sea. Iberville then transferred his settlers to Biloxi, Mississippi where he built Fort Maurepas, the first permanent European settlement established on the Gulf Coast. The following year Iberville returned to build a second settlement near the present site of New Orleans, but was obliged to move most of his colonists to the Mobile River due to the unhealthy conditions.

The outbreak of war with Britain in 1702 put a halt to Iberville expanding his new colony of Louisiana. Promoted captain, he was given the West Indies command. In 1706 he attacked the British islands of Nevis and St. Kitts, forcing them to surrender and capturing 30 ships and 1,750 prisoners. As his fleet moved to Havana and prepared to launch an amphibious attack against the Carolinas, the 44-year-old Iberville caught yellow fever and died aboard his flagship on 9 July 1706. His body was taken ashore and buried in the small parish church of San Cristoval. Unfortunately the church was burnt down 35 years later and never rebuilt, so the last resting place in Cuba of one of our greatest soldier-sailors remains unknown.

Historian James Marsh sums up Iberville's life thusly: "His career was an uneasy mixture of commercial ambition and military zeal but, though his conquests were ephemeral and his actions often cruel, his daring aroused even the admiration of his enemies." One of his biographers, N.M. Crouse, believes Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville "was unquestionably the greatest Canadian of his generation" and notes that "despite his numerous achievements as soldier, sea captain, colonist and statesman, in short, one of the greatest of France's empire-builders, his name is almost unknown in the country to whose service he devoted his life."

In truth, the same statement could be made of Canada, but the cavalier treatment of Iberville by French historians boils down to the reality of his triumphs and the nature of the times. The Canadian-born officer's great talents were displayed in deep forests and on distant seas rather than in and about Europe.

Though a sea captain by training, Iberville took part in numerous land expeditions and proved himself to be as fully skilled in leading a detachment through the trackless wilderness as in piloting a fleet across the Atlantic. The expeditions he headed, though small in scale, were invariably successful. At sea his feats were equally impressive and Crouse feels that "had Iberville's untimely death been postponed by a few years, or had he been granted command of a fleet earlier, he might well have equalled the exploits of Jean Bart or Tourville and gained for himself a distinctive place in the annals of the French Navy."

That said, Canadians should rightfully claim Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur d'Iberville, as one of their own. This early soldier-seaman was a man in whom dynamic energy, indomitable patriotism and relentlessness of purpose fused with a rare executive ability and charisma to produce a leader of exceptional quality. ◆

Lieutenant-Colonel Ian McCulloch is commanding officer of The Black Watch and a frequent contributor to "The Beaver" on military topics.

*** ***

THE *PELICAN* SAILS AGAIN

Iberville's famous flagship, the *Pélican,* has sailed the St. Lawrence once again, this time to take up a berth at Montreal's Old Port as a floating museum. The 150-foot frigate, lovingly reconstructed at La Malbaie by AML Shipbuilders of Quebec City, was launched in September 1992.

"Our life-size replica of the *Pélican* took shape slowly but surely over the last several years," says Diana Thébaud Nicholson, "a project sponsored principally by the Macdonald Stewart Foundation in Montreal."

The *Pélican* wreck, location unknown, still lies somewhere beneath the cold waters of Hudson Bay. Thus, while none of the artifacts or cannon used by the David M. Stewart Museum in making the *Pélican* come to life again are originals, they are certainly authentic to the period circa 1695.

CRISIS AT RED RIVER

125 years ago Louis Riel defied Canada

By J.M. Bumsted

As one of its earliest actions, the new government of Canada passed resolutions calling for the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory and the addition of British Columbia to the new union. Negotiations with the HBC began in June of 1868 and continued until April of 1869. The Company bargained hard, and the transfer was finally agreed upon for a payment by Canada of £300,000 and considerable land grants to the HBC. Even before the final agreement was completed, the Canadian government had sent roadbuilding crews into Red River, and before the transfer was effected Canadian surveying teams were in the settlement.

Much of the subsequent difficulty was created by the clumsy insensitivity of Canada to local sensibilities. Canada intended to govern its newly-acquired lands, including Red River, as a colonial satrapy, with a Canadian-appointed lieutenant-governor and an appointed council of carpet-bagging executive officers supplemented by locals. There were no immediate plans for an elected assembly or the introduction of responsible government. The West would have to be settled (by Canadian immigrants) before it could be allowed a proper government. The transfer of the territory from the HBC to Canada was originally scheduled for 1 October 1869, but was postponed for two months to 1 December 1869 to allow Canada to raise £300,000 in the international money markets.

Over the summer and autumn of 1869, local uneasiness over the meaning of the transfer continually esca-

The Founding of Manitoba

HBC Archives

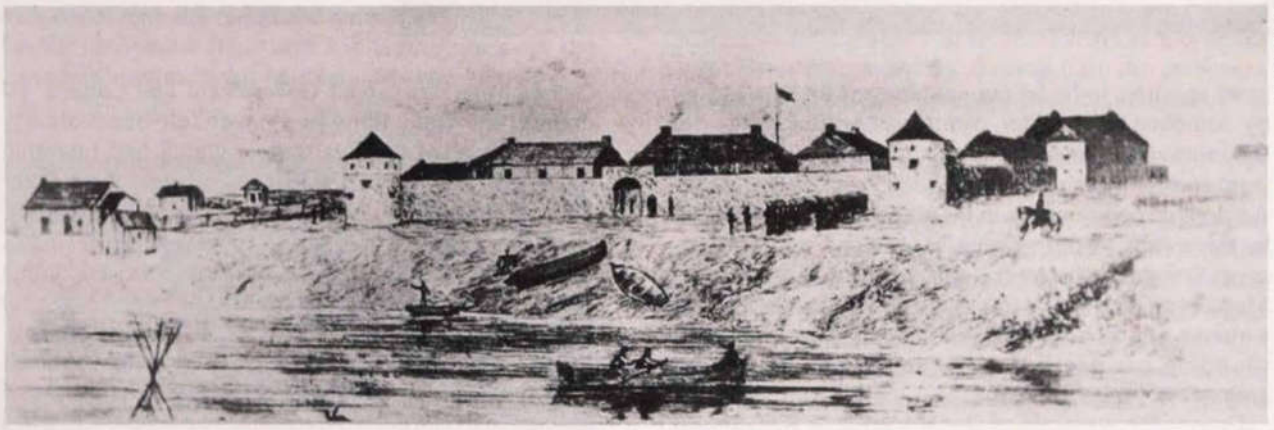
Donald A. Smith and Louis Riel explain Smith's commission from the Canadian government to a large crowd at Upper Fort Garry, 19 January 1870. Painted for the Hudson's Bay Company by Bruce Johnson.

lated. The discontent of the residents of Red River was not at all assuaged by the failure of all parties involved in the transfer — the British government, the Canadian government, and the Hudson's Bay Company — to inform either the local government or the local inhabitants of what was happening, much less to bother to consult with them on the matter. Rumours spread apace, fuelled by the stupidity of the advance Canadian teams in allying themselves publicly with the small party in Red River that had long advocated annexation to Canada and was generally despised for its patronizing and often racist attitudes toward the native-born population, which consisted mainly of mixed-bloods. The French-speaking Catholic Métis were the first to organize in resistance, which began in October of 1869 when a group of Métis led by Louis Riel refused to allow the Canadian surveying party to enter their lands. It escalated when the Métis sent an armed party to refuse entry to the prospective lieutenant-governor William McDougall and his suite of officials, an action that occurred virtually simultaneously with a Métis occupation of Upper Fort Garry on 2 November.

To this point the Métis had been acting independently of others in the settlement, but beginning in early November they made a considerable effort to enlist the support of their anglophone mixed-blood counterparts in opposition to Canadian annexation. Delegates from the two groups met in a council in November of 1869, at about the same time that the Canadian government decided not to take possession of the territory until it had been pacified. Representatives of all segments of the settlement assembled again in a Convention meeting between 26 January and 11 February 1870, which agreed to a series of demands upon the Canadian government, chose delegates to negotiate with Ottawa, and constructed a broadly-based provisional government to administer the settlement until the negotiations had been completed. This outcome was the result of considerable turmoil in the settlement and much pressure upon the Anglophones to co-operate. One lot of prisoners, mainly Canadians, was taken by the Métis on 7 December and finally released (some having escaped) only after the positive outcome of the Convention. Another lot of prisoners, again mainly Canadians, was taken on 17 February, and held in part as hostages for continued Anglophone co-operation in the provisional

government. This contingent included the Orangeman Thomas Scott, who had been one of the captives who had earlier escaped. Before the negotiations with Canada could begin, on 4 March 1870 the Métis executed Scott at Upper Fort Garry, an action which would greatly complicate matters.

Despite the satisfactory reconstruction of the provisional government, there were still many problems facing Riel and his administration. Not the least of the difficulties was the attack of "brain fever" which the Métis leader had suffered on 24 February, evidence of the stress under which he had been operating. Riel was young, and he recovered quickly. He recognized that he faced a substantial military threat from a variety of directions. There might well be more internal uprisings. A Canadian military invasion in the spring was almost a certainty if an agreement with Canada could not be reached — Riel could not know that the Canadians had already asked the British to provide an expeditionary force. Constant rumours circulated of attacks from the Sioux and Cree Indians. Riel and his government needed all the support they could get from the armed horsemen of the Métis community.



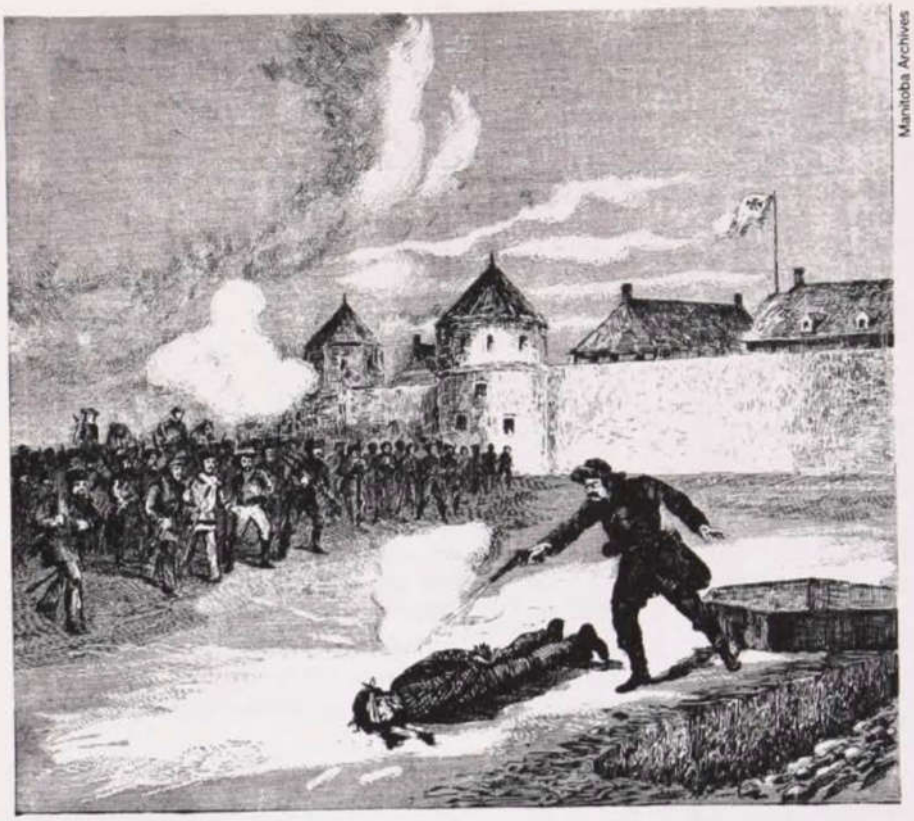
HBC Archives

Upper Fort Garry, 1870.

Among the major Canadian hotbloods, only Thomas Scott remained in custody. Seeking to avoid another embarrassing series of escapes, Riel increased security for the Canadian prisoners, who did not like being treated severely. Both Canadian Commissioner Donald A. Smith (who was being held as a virtual prisoner in the fort) and Anglican Archdeacon John McLean insisted that the prisoners must avoid offending the guards. They extracted promises of good behaviour. Nevertheless, the prisoners, led by Thomas Scott, continued to be vociferous in their complaints. Scott was a native of Northern Ireland who had emigrated to Canada West in the early 1860s. Of Scots-Irish descent, he was a member of the Presbyterian Church, the 49th Hastings Battalion of Rifles, and the Orange Order. He was also, contemporaries agree, a "violent and boisterous man" who made his opinions known in a loud voice and a rude manner. Fellow prisoner George Sanderson would later insist that Scott was so obnoxious that even his fellow prisoners asked to have him removed.

On 1 March 1870, Scott had been put in irons for insulting his guards. On 4 March the settlement learned to its astonishment that Scott had been condemned to execution by a firing squad. Riel had threatened other prisoners with execution before, but had always backed down. This time he was adamant. Riel tried to explain his thinking to Donald A. Smith. Scott had already been spared twice, he was incorrigible, and he had so inflamed the other prisoners that it was hard to keep the guards from responding. Smith later reported that he had pointed out that so far the insurrection had been bloodless, and that it was foolish to stain it with a horrible crime which might make it hard to negotiate with Canada. To this Riel replied, "we must make Canada respect us." He refused to be moved from this resolution. The difference between this threatened execution and those earlier which had not been carried out (such as of John Schultz and Charles A. Boulton) was that the death sentence to Scott had not been instigated by Riel but by his men.

The details of the execution of Scott were, from the very outset, the stuff of legend. Most accounts agreed that Scott was led out the eastside gate at Upper Fort Garry and shot against the wall there. A firing squad of five or six men, according to some accounts intoxicated, did the deed. Reports of the number of shots fired varied, although several narratives agreed that the Canadian did not die with the initial volley. Some said he was dispatched on the spot by a revolver shot through the head, while others told the bizarre tale of him being placed in a rough coffin while still alive,



Manitoba Archives

A Canadian depiction of the execution of Thomas Scott outside the walls of Upper Fort Garry, 4 March 1870.

making noises to be let out until eventually he was shot by someone hours later. Scott was buried inside the fort, although rumours of the disappearance of his body were common at the time and later. From the outset the Anglophone community in the settlement were shocked by this event. "A deep gloom has settled over the settlement," wrote Alexander Begg in his journal on 4 March, "on account of this deed." Scott rapidly became a martyr, and as is the case with martyrs, the stories surrounding his death became subject to increasing amounts of embellishment.

Despite the warnings of Donald Smith to Riel, even if they were actually given as Smith subsequently claimed, there was no reason at the time for Riel to anticipate that Scott's death would become the central and defining event of the Red River Resistance. Riel never apologized for his decision to execute Scott, nor did he attempt to distance himself from the death. In 1873, in a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Riel and Ambroise Lepine wrote, "Consider the circumstances; let the motives be weighed; if there were a single act of severity, one must not lose sight of the long course of moderate conduct which gives us the right to say that, during our troubles of 1869-70, we sought to disarm, rather than fight the lawless strangers who were making war against us." But whatever the circumstances behind it, the death of Scott drifted like a cloud of pollution over the subsequent negotiations between the Provisional Government and Canada. Of course, the Canadians had never felt benevolently inclined toward the Resistance, which had thwarted transcontinental expansion and embarrassed the government. In February 1870, the Canadian cabinet, at the same meeting at which it agreed to receive delegates from Red River with respect, had also requested British authority and assistance for a military expedition against Red River in the spring. The day after the Scott execution, Colonial Secretary Lord Granville cabled Canadian Governor-General Sir John Young that "the proposed military assistance will be given if reasonable terms are given to the Roman Catholic Settlers and if Canadian gov't enable H.M. Gov't to proclaim transfer simultaneously with movement of troops." In short, Canada would occupy Red River with an armed force even if the negotiations with the settlers were successful.

With rumours about the death (or resurrection) of Thomas Scott circulating around the settlement, most attention in early March turned to the return of Bishop Alexandre-Antoine Taché from his attendance at the Vatican Council at Rome. Taché was a powerful conservative force in Red River, and many observers felt his absence over the preceding months had contributed greatly to the turmoil. On his return from Rome, Taché had stopped off in Ottawa for discussions with the Canadian Government, and he was returning to the settlement as a Canadian emissary. He carried word that

Canada thought it could work with the list of demands approved by the earlier Convention, and he brought two different versions of offers of amnesty to the resistors, both very limited. The first was contained in a proclamation issued by Governor-General Sir John Young in December 1869, which had never previously been published at Red River. This document commanded those in defiance of the law to disperse and return to their homes, promising that no legal proceedings would then be taken against "any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law." A later letter from Prime Minister Macdonald added, "If the Company's Government is restored not only will there be a general amnesty granted, but in case the Company should claim the payment for such stores, the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm."

Taché would subsequently insist that he had specifically asked the Prime Minister whether his promise included unknown "blameworthy" acts perhaps not yet committed, and was assured it did. But nothing of the sort was committed to paper, and the Canadian government would always officially maintain that no promise of amnesty was ever intended to absolve the perpetrators of acts such as the "murder" of Thomas Scott. What was actually promised by Canada was hedged with conditions the resistance never met. Nevertheless, Taché informed Riel and his lieutenants of the Canadian commitment to unconditional amnesty he thought he could communicate, officially at a meeting of the council of the Provisional Government on 15 March. Taché did not mention the death of Scott specifically at this time, but merely alluded to "some circumstances to be regretted" in recent actions in the settlement. Riel responded by freeing half the prisoners being held at the fort, and promising the release of the remainder shortly.

Bishop Taché, from "The Red River Expedition" by Captain G.L. Huyshe, published in 1871.

Manitoba Archives

Rival hoteliers invite "Miss Red River" to come in out of the cold in this post-Confederation cartoon published in Montreal.

The settlement's delegates to Ottawa — Judge John Black, Mr. Alfred H. Scott, and Father Noel-Joseph Ritchot — did not immediately leave for the East upon the arrival of Taché's news of their favourable reception in the Canadian capital. Ostensibly they were waiting for better weather for the journey south to the American railhead. The Canadian leaders John C. Schultz and Charles Mair had both left the settlement in late February, by snowshoes and dogsled respectively, and both would have arduous journeys across the snowy wastes of the northern United States. Judge Black was particularly reluctant to depart too early. An equally important consideration was that there was considerable last-minute jockeying behind the scenes over their final instructions.

The trio of delegates (or "Commissioners," as they were often called by the Provisional Government) chosen for this task requires some explanation, since they were not necessarily the most obvious candidates. Black was a Scot who had been the last Recorder (or Chief Justice) of the General Quarterly Court of Assiniboia. He had been elected a delegate to the January Convention and was chosen its chairman. Regarded as a moderate, he had spoken at length in the Convention against the immediate creation of a province, and was apparently acceptable to the

Anglophone party which he theoretically represented. He had not been a strong figure either as a judge or as a politician over the winter of 1869-70, however. Father Ritchot was priest of the Métis parish of St. Norbert and had helped his parishioners organize their resistance to Canada in the fall of 1869. He was described by Sir Stafford Northcote as "a fine looking vigorous man, apparently about 40, with a great black beard. He does not speak English, but makes up for it by speaking French with a marvellous rapidity." Ritchot was not a delegate to the January Convention, but was a loyal and trusted advisor of Louis Riel and the Métis. He was regarded as bright and single-minded. Alfred H. Scott (no relation to Thomas) was probably British-born, but was always associated in Red River with the American party. He had no known history before 1869, when he began work as a barkeep in the saloon of Bob O'Lone, later working as clerk in the store of Henry McKenney. Scott was elected to the 1870 Convention as the delegate from Winnipeg, beating out A.G.B. Bannatyne with the aid of the American residents. In the Convention, he broke with the Anglophones to support the Métis in several crucial votes, and with this ambivalent record was apparently a suitable third delegate, associated with neither major section of the settlement. It would appear that there was some deliberate intention that Ritchot would be the dominant negotiator, surrounded as he was by a relative non-entity and a weak ex-magistrate, both of whom were on record as intending to depart the settlement when the troubles were over.

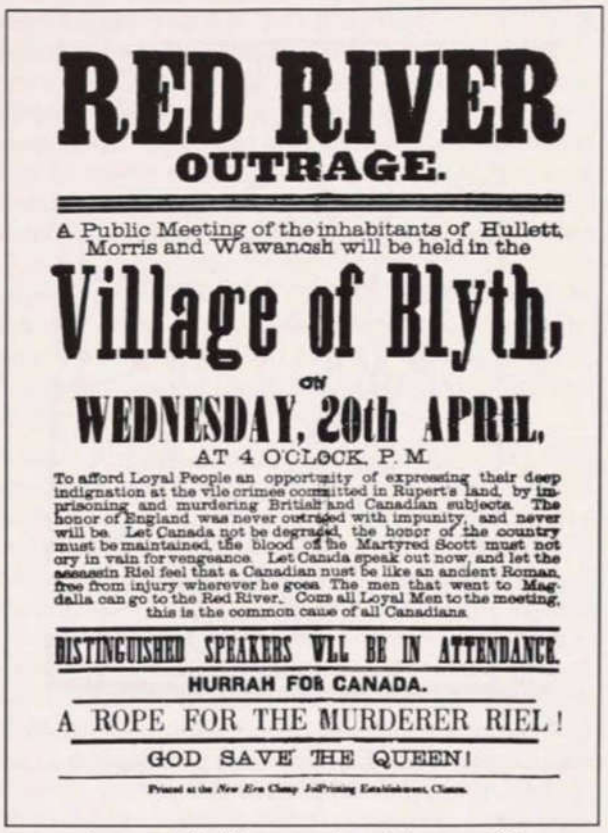
Although the Convention had passed a series of twenty articles (the "Bill of Rights") which represented the demands of the settlement to the Canadian government as presented to its emissary Donald A. Smith, a number of loose ends relating to the negotiations had still to be sorted out. This was done by the executive of the provisional government, in effect Louis Riel and his lieutenants William O'Donoghue and Louis Schmidt, although Thomas Bunn, secretary of the council, was also present at the discussions and signed the final documents. Riel later claimed that the executive had to "work day and night in order to finish and enable the Commissioners to start at the time they did". Subsequently claiming pressures of time, Riel did not take this business to the full council of Provisional Government. One loose end was the question of who the delegates were representing. Their final commissions made clear that they were authorized by "the President of the Provisional Government of Assiniboia (formerly Rupert's Land and the North-West) in council". A second question related to the powers of the delegates. They were not given power to bind the government they represented. Instead all arrangements with Canada would have to be ratified by the provisional government. Another question concerned the "final" version of the Bill of Rights carried by the delegates in their instructions. The "terms and conditions" carried by the Commissioners, but particularly by Father Ritchot, were considerably different from the list accepted by the Convention in February, both through redrafting and the addition of fresh clauses. The additions included the demand for admission to Canada as "the Province of Assiniboia," with a constitution like that of Quebec. The insistence on provisional status returned to a clause advocated by Riel in the Convention but defeated by the Anglophone delegates with the assistance of several Métis. There was also a clause demanding amnesty for members of the Provisional Government "or any of those acting under them" for "any of the actions which led to the present negotiations." All of the commissioners were instructed to make the matter of the amnesty a *'sine quo non'* of the negotiations. Those responsible for the death of Scott obviously realized that they would have to be protected. The Ritchot instructions contained a clause — probably drafted by Bishop Taché — that "the schools be separate, and that the public money for schools be distributed among the different religious denominations in proportion to their respective populations according to the system in the Province of Quebec." Earlier versions of the Bill of Rights had spoken about bilingualism but never about separate schools. Whether any of these details were unauthorized additions to an earlier list is an interesting if somewhat moot point. The earlier Convention had no real standing, while the executive of the Provisional Government did, at least within the settlement. Moreover, the full council subsequently accepted the outcome of the negotiations.

Father Ritchot finally left Red River on the 26th of March in company with Colonel Charles de Salaberry, one of the earlier Canadian emissaries to Red River, whose mission had little impact on events. On that same day, the *Globe* in Toronto carried on its front page the news of the Scott execution, having received word from Minnesota via cable. It provided no details, and the death of Scott was not immediately an issue in Ontario. It would soon become so, thanks to the deliberate orchestration of public sentiment by the leaders of the Canada First movement, George Denison and William Foster. As Denison would later recall, the public had been markedly apathetic about the Canadian debacle at Red River. Most Canadians seemed to recognize that Canada had blundered badly, and deserved what it was getting. But the Scott "murder" and the impending arrival of Schultz and Mair in Ontario gave the "Canada Firsters" the opportunity "to draw attention to the matter, and by denouncing the murder of Scott, to arouse the indignation of the people, and foment a public opinion that would force the Government to send an armed expedition to restore order."

Since the government already had an expedition in process, the main effect of the propaganda campaign was to inflame Protestant Ontario against Louis Riel and the Métis. While Canada First prepared incendiary editorials to plant in the newspapers ("it was like putting a match to tinder", Denison later wrote), Messrs Ritchot and de Salaberry were joined en route by Alfred H. Scott and later by Judge Black, who was in company with Charles Boulton (the commander of the disastrous February military action by the Canadian party). At Grand Forks this party overtook J.A.N. Provencher, one of William McDougall's erstwhile executives, who had wintered at Pembina. Travelling by this ill-assorted crew was done mainly at night because of the thawing roads. The party reached Fort Abercrombie on 1 April, where a fatigued Judge Black lagged behind while the remaining men took the stagecoach for St. Cloud and the railroad. While the delegation was rattling forward on the stagecoach, Canada First was getting into high gear. At a private meeting on 2 April, Denison had made an impassioned speech in defence of Mair and Schultz, insisting that they had acted on behalf of Canada and querying whether "we at home" could be "critical as to their method of proving their devotion to our country?" A huge public rally in Toronto to welcome the refugees was planned and organized.

The party from Red River arrived at St. Cloud on 6 April, almost immediately boarding the train for St. Paul. On that same day, Charles Mair and John Schultz arrived in Toronto, where they attended the public meeting planned for 7 April at St. Lawrence Hall. A crowd of at least 1,000 escorted Mair and Schultz to the Queen's Hotel, and another crowd of over 10,000 forced the meeting to be shifted from the hall to Market Square, where the speakers stood on the roof of the porch of the old City Hall. Three resolutions were passed on this occasion. The first welcomed the refugees and endorsed their "sacrifice" in resisting the usurpation of power by "the murderer Riel". The second advocated decisive measures to suppress the uprising, and the third declared that it "would be a gross injustice to the loyal inhabitants of Red River, humiliating to our national honour, and contrary to all British traditions for our Government to receive, negotiate, or treat with the emissaries of those who have robbed, imprisoned, and murdered loyal Canadians, whose only fault was zeal for British institutions, whose only crime was devotion to the old flag."

News of the gathering storm in Ontario was telegraphed west, and Father Ritchot managed to avoid reporters in St. Paul only by declaring himself unable to speak English. At St. Paul, Judge Black and Charles Boulton took the train to Detroit and then on to Toronto. Father Ritchot and Alfred Scott were more prudent, boarding a train which proceeded via Buffalo to



RED RIVER
OUTRAGE.

A Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Hullett, Morris and Wawanosh will be held in the

Village of Blyth,

ON

WEDNESDAY, 20th APRIL,

AT 4 O'CLOCK, P. M.

To afford Loyal People an opportunity of expressing their deep indignation at the vile crimes committed in Rupert's land, by imprisoning and murdering British and Canadian subjects. The honor of England was never outraged with impunity, and never will be. Let Canada not be degraded, the honor of the country must be maintained, the blood of the Martyred Scott must not cry in vain for vengeance. Let Canada speak out now, and let the assassin Riel feel that a Canadian must be like an ancient Roman, free from injury wherever he goes. The men that went to Magdalla can go to the Red River. Come all Loyal Men to the meeting, this is the common cause of all Canadians.

DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS WILL BE IN ATTENDANCE.

HURRAH FOR CANADA.

A ROPE FOR THE MURDERER RIEL!

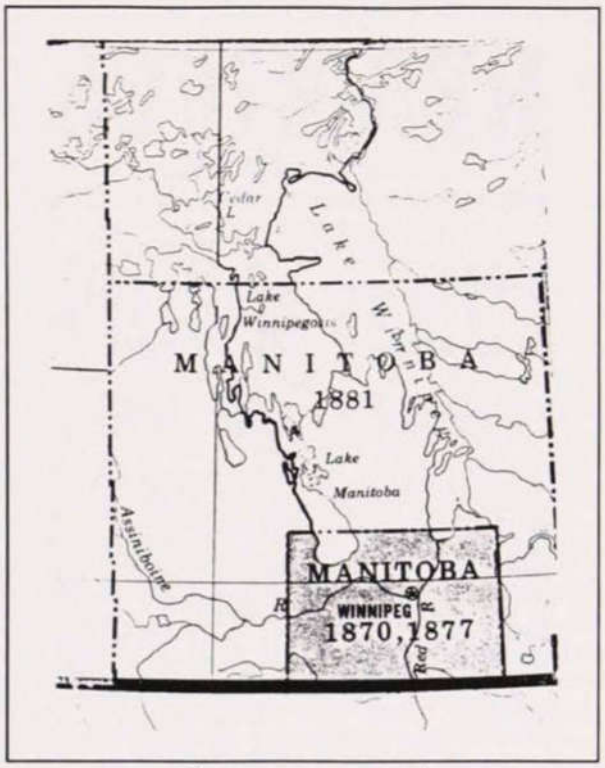
GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Printed at the New Era Camp Jollyning Establishment, Clinton.

Anger at the events in Red River swept through the towns of Orange Ontario. The organizers of this meeting at Blyth joined others in calling for revenge.

Ogdensburg, New York, where they were met at 1 p.m. on 11 April by Gilbert McMicken of the Dominion Police, who informed them he had been sent by the Government to take them to Ottawa. McMicken got Ritchot and Scott to Ottawa without incident, and the priest was installed by 5 p.m. at the episcopal palace. That same day, the Canadian Governor-General advised the British government that Canada would accept the transfer of territory "if movement of troops settled."

While the delegates were travelling east from Minnesota by rail, Mair, Schultz, and Denison were also heading east from Toronto, to towns like Cobourg, Belleville, and Prescott, where massive demonstrations of welcome were organized. "Public feeling was aroused," recorded George Denison, "and we then knew that we would have Ontario at our backs." The Government in Ottawa was not at all friendly to this little group of agitators, however, and after a meeting with his old acquaintance Sir John A. Macdonald, Denison angrily accused the Prime Minister of attempting to humiliate Canada First. Denison, with the assistance of another Canadian refugee from Red River, Dr. James Spencer Lynch, drafted a formal protest on behalf of the "loyal element of Fort Garry" against the



"The postage stamp province".

reception of the provisional government's delegates, while William Foster and others in Toronto were obtaining a warrant for the arrest of Ritchot and Scott on the charge of the murder of Thomas Scott. This warrant was sent on to Ottawa, where according to Denison it was mistakenly put into the hands of the Dominion government rather than the Ottawa chief of police.

In Red River itself, Louis Riel issued a proclamation "To the People of the North West", dated 9 April 1870, declaring "that peace reigns in our midst this day." The Hudson's Bay Company was again opened for business. Riel offered an amnesty "to all those who would submit to the Government, who will discountenance or inform against dangerous gatherings," and insisted that "Canada invites the Red River people to an amicable arrangement. She offers to guarantee us our rights and to give us a place in the Confederation equal to that of any other Province." His optimism was perhaps a bit premature.

On 12 April Father Ritchot was introduced to George Étienne Cartier by Colonel de Salaberry, and the two men had a long discussion. According to Ritchot, Cartier said the Government regretted the death of Scott, "in that it had given ground for the agitation which it had produced in men's minds, but that it would not be a reason that the government should not profit by the means of pacification which it found in the persons of the delegates of the North West." The government expected that the agitation would soon die away, said Cartier, and begged for time to allow "minds to calm down." Alfred Scott was arrested and jailed on the Toronto warrant at 10 p.m. on the evening of the 12th, and there was much excitement about Ritchot's possible arrest. The next morning the *Globe* reprinted the resolutions of Lodge 404 of the Orange Order (Toronto) relating to Thomas Scott, "cruelly murdered by the enemies of our Queen, country and religion." The resolutions called upon government "to avenge his death" and rescue Red River "from those who have turned it over to Popery." Accompanied by friends, on the 13th Ritchot made his way to the court house, where the warrant was served. Scott and Ritchot met again at the police station, where they were sent home under armed guard.

On 14 April Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to the Earl of Carnarvon that Thomas Scott's people were calling for retribution against Riel. Indignation meetings were being held all over Canada, reported Macdonald, and the Government had been requested not to receive the delegates commissioned by Riel. Most of the Red River residents were loyal to Britain, said Macdonald, "though they would have preferred their present wild and semi-barbarous life to the restraints of Civilization that will be forced on them by the Canadian Government and the new settlers." Matters were much complicated by the Scott incident, "a barbarous murder" on the authority of a "sham Court" on "most frivolous pretexts." Macdonald still hoped that the expedition being prepared "and which *must* go" would be accepted not as a hostile force but as a friendly garrison. "Friendly" was a relative matter, however, and behind the velvet glove was the iron fist. Macdonald had earlier written to Sir John Rose, "These impulsive half-breeds have got spoilt by this *émeute* [popular uprising] and must be kept down by a strong hand until they are swamped by the influx of settlers." The Prime Minister had also subsequently complained to his Governor-General that if the troops could not be employed "to force the people to unite with Canada," they would be useless. "Why should we agree to pay for troops that may be ordered not to act when they get to Fort Garry?"

At about the same time that the Prime Minister was writing to London, Judge Thomas Galt of the Ontario Court of Common Pleas was deciding that the Toronto Police Magistrate who had issued the warrant had no jurisdiction. The two delegates were freed, only to be arrested again on a warrant sworn out in Ottawa by George Denison. Ritchot and Scott again appeared in court, were referred to the Police Magistrate, and were released on bail until a hearing on 23 April. In the meantime, the British Government had cabled on 18 April to Sir John Young, "Did Canadian gov't authorize arrest of delegates? Full information desired by tele-

graph." On 14 April, the Canadian Senate's select committee on Rupert's Land and Red River began hearing testimony, exploiting, as it reported itself, "the presence at Ottawa, during the existing Session of Parliament, of a number of persons recently from Red River, all more or less familiar with the North-West Territory." The Select Committee had only been created on 12 April, obviously in response to the furor over Thomas Scott. Before the committee was finished on 25 April, it would have heard from Dr. James Lynch, Charles Boulton, John C. Schultz, Charles Mair, John James Setter, Joseph Monkman, Donald Codd, Charles Garrett, Arthur Hamilton, and William Fletcher, all refugees from the Provisional Government visiting Ottawa, who testified at great length as to the promise of the region and to the malevolence of Riel and the Métis. The committee invited Judge Black to testify, but he replied that he was too busy. The Senate committee did not in its recommendations comment on the resistance in Red River, but it did emphasize that the region would become a prime destination for immigrants. Organizing an "armed" immigration to "swamp" the Métis under the auspices of such agencies as the North-West Emigration Aid Society would quickly become the principal strategy of Canada First and the Orangists. While in Ottawa, however, the Canadians testifying before the committee did not waste the opportunity to lobby amongst sympathetic Ontario members of parliament against the Manitoba Act and in favour of a punitive military expedition.

On 20 April, Father Ritchot decided to appeal to the Canadian Governor-General, and in the evening Sir John A. Macdonald answered questions in the House of Commons about the Red River affair. Macdonald denied that the government had received any official communication from anyone claiming to be delegates, which meant that the matter of the arrests was still a provincial one. The opposition asked pointed questions about the implied recognition of the provisional government involved in receiving the delegates officially, and Macdonald replied the delegation "could have the credentials of representatives of the people." A variety of pressures had obviously made it impolitic to deal directly with the provisional government of Red River. Ironically enough, on that same day, Louis Riel gave orders to raise the "Union Jack" at Upper Fort Garry, and when William O'Donoghue tried to take it down Riel countermanded him. According to Alexander Begg, Riel added "if anyone wanted the Provisional flag hoisted it could be done so under the British one as under the protection of it." Riel would have much trouble over the next few weeks keeping the Union Jack flying, however. At the hearing at the magistrates' court on 23 April, the case against Ritchot and Scott was withdrawn and the delegates were freed. Outside the door, the two men from Red River were met by a large crowd of French-Canadians and Irishmen, who cheered and had to be begged by Ritchot not to begin a major demonstration. The matter was turning into a major sectarian issue. Ritchot sent telegrams to Red River stating that he was in no danger and that the delegates were likely to be able to begin their negotiations soon. On that same day, Colonial Secretary Granville cabled Sir John Young that permission for the dispatch of British troops required certain conditions to be met. They included the payment of the £300,000 to the HBC and the completion of the transfer before 1 June and, most importantly, "Canadian Gov't to accept decision of H.M.'s Gov't on disputed points of settlers' Bill of Rights."

Louis Riel and the provisional government may have anticipated that the Canadian government would not be happy about the execution of Thomas Scott, but they could hardly have predicted what had transpired as a consequence of that ill-conceived act. Canada First had managed to inflame public opinion throughout Protestant Ontario against Riel, the Métis, and the provisional government. Quebec newspapers had begun to editorialize on behalf of the Métis. Although the Canadian government had managed to protect the Red River delegates from serious criminal charges, the Ontario agitation had enabled (or forced) Sir John A. Macdonald to withhold formal recognition of the delegates as representatives of the provisional government. Public sentiment in Ontario in favour of a punitive military expedition against Red River, if necessary, was also increased. The negotiating position of the delegates had thus been severely compromised, a disadvantage not compensated for, as we shall see, by the renewed interest the British government was taking in making certain that the settlers would be fairly treated. By the time negotiations between the Red River commissioners and the Canadian government, now to be conducted on an informal rather than a formal basis, began on 25 April, it was virtually impossible to conceive of a peaceful settlement that would satisfy everyone.

On 25 April, Judge Black, Alfred Scott, and Father Ritchot went to Sir George Cartier's house to meet with that worthy and Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. The Canadians asked pointed questions about the various bills of rights passed by the settlement, and asked for the latest list of rights to be presented to them. Black was contented with the discussions, but Ritchot was not. He wanted to know where the parties stood. He pointed out that they had been in Ottawa for two weeks and still had no formal recognition. Ritchot said he appreciated the argument about inflamed tensions and was willing to be co-operative, providing everything was discussed in the open. He was reaching the end of his patience, he emphasized, and wanted to know "where we stood officially." Cartier disenge-

nuously responded that the delegates were officially recognized, that Sir John had said so in Parliament. He offered to put the recognition in writing. Ritchot insisted that a general amnesty was a condition *sine qua non* of any settlement, particularly given the prospective dispatch of troops, who could take punitive action against the resistors, to Red River.

The two sides met again later in the day. The delegates obviously were not of one mind, with Judge Black far more amenable to the Canadian negotiating position than were Scott and Ritchot. Macdonald wanted to delay making a province and sought an appointed government in the meantime. When this position was rejected by Ritchot and Scott, Sir John tried for a government of twenty-six members, six nominated by the government and the remainder elected. Eventually Cartier and Macdonald accepted the concept of a province and agreed to a responsible government of two chambers. Somewhat menacingly, Cartier remarked that several provinces will have to be made out of the Northwest; the new province would have its boundaries severely circumscribed. In his diary, Ritchot observed, "I made a pretence of not understanding. He often came back to the question."

On the following day, Secretary of State Joseph Howe sent a note which acknowledged the Red River emissaries, not as delegates of the provisional government but as "delegates from the North-West to the Government of the Dominion of Canada." For their part, the Canadians brought a draft of a bill, which was generally discussed. Ritchot saw immediately that the settlers would lose control of the land and especially of natural resources, and argued against Judge Black on behalf of Métis claims. According to his diary, both Cartier and Macdonald were sympathetic, but maintained the need for "concessions." Ritchot said he would agree to anything that would be acceptable to the people of Red River, and Black admitted that he could not get generally accepted an arrangement which did not provide for Métis rights. For his part, Father Ritchot introduced the new bill of rights embodied in his instructions, which included the amnesty and especially the schools clause demanding separate schools for Roman Catholics, publicly supported. The Canadians reluctantly agreed to accept this new list.

The two sides discussed in detail the land question. Canada readily agreed to accept all possessions of land in Red River, including the hay privileges extending beyond the actual river lots. Ritchot raised the 19th clause of his instructions, which demanded that the federal government assume all debts contracted by the provisional government and grant an amnesty to members of that government for acts perpetrated in dealing with the Canadian opposition in the settlement. The Canadians insisted that an amnesty was a question for either the imperial government or the local government, but Ritchot argued that negotiations were useless without agreement here. The Canadians said they could settle the matter, and Ritchot replied, *"pourvu que l'affaire soit reglée, c'est tout ce qu'il nous faut."*

Resolving the amnesty business would not be so easy, of course. Ritchot would spend the remainder of his stay in Ottawa attempting to get some written evidence of this promise, and was constantly fobbed off with oral assurances and complicated legal explanations why nothing could be put in writing. At the time, the matter of Métis rights appeared rather more complex, however, and carried over until the following day. The Canadians opened this discussion by observing that the settlers could not have both civilized government and "the privileges granted to Indians." Ritchot answered that it did not follow that because the settlers wished to be treated equally that they should lose their rights as descendants of Indians. The Canadians offered 100,000 acres to be granted to the children of the Métis, then increased the amount after Ritchot countered by insisting on 200-acre grants for every adult in the province. Ritchot and Scott refused to concede on the amount on the 27th, but Prime Minister Macdonald obviously thought they had agreement on the principle of land compensation. He wrote to Sir John Young that evening, "We are nearly through our troubles with the delegates, and then we can take up the military matter."

On the next day, the two sides began with a draft of a printed bill, but postponed their discussions because "Sir John was indisposed." Ritchot took the printed bill away to produce written comments upon it, which have survived. Ritchot's "Remarks on Twenty-Six Clauses April 28 and 29, 1870" make clear that by this point the Canadian government had its plans for the new province pretty well in hand. The new province would be called Manitoba, and would be quite small in area, roughly 11,000 square miles, a limitation the priest appeared to accept readily. He was not happy with the education clause, which repeated the phraseology of section 93 of the British North America Act, but aimed his major criticisms at the article relating to the administration of Crown lands, which reserved all land not otherwise committed, to the federal government. He also noted the need to settle article 19 of his instructions (the amnesty question). Ritchot's were not the only comments on the issues of the negotiations. Sir Clifford Murdoch, who was the special British envoy in Ottawa, sent particularly to deal with the military expedition, wrote to London that many of the clauses of the Red River bill of rights were "inadmissable". He was especially concerned about the demands for control of Crown lands and for amnesty, but he thought that the Canadian government would manage to meet the British condition that its troops not be employed to

Manitoba Archives

Riel and his Council, 1869. Top row: Charles Larocque, Pierre Delorme, Thomas Bunn, Xavier Pagée, Ambroise Lépine, Baptiste Tourond, Thomas Spence. Seated centre row: Pierre Poitras, John Bruce, Louis Riel, W.B. O'Donoghue, François Dauphinais. Front row: Bob O'Lone, Paul Proulx.

force Canadian sovereignty upon the inhabitants of Red River. Riel, he added, was expected to leave the territory in advance of the military expedition.

Sir John A. Macdonald's "indisposition" took the form of a weekend bout with the bottle which in effect took him briefly out of the negotiations at this critical stage. On 29 April the delegates, again at Sir George Cartier's home, discussed the land question without the prime minister's presence. Cartier ultimately agreed to propose to his colleagues a grant of 1,000,000 acres for the children of Métis. The big issue remaining appeared to be the question of the amnesty, about which Cartier was reassuring at meetings on the 30th. The prime minister returned to the negotiating table on 2 May. Ritchot accepted an increased offer of 1,200,000 acres for the settlement of Métis claims, insisting that lands could be taken anywhere in the province. That afternoon, Sir John A. sketched out the government's intentions for Red River in the House of Commons. "Manitoba" had been selected for the new province out of a number of "euphonious" Indian names. The chief alternative, "Assiniboia," was rejected because of confusion with the Assiniboine River and the older district of Assiniboia. The new province would be small in area, but, Macdonald emphasized, the delegates had raised no objections about confining its boundaries to the old limits of the settlement. In Manitoba there would be representative institutions, and a reservation of lands to extinguish Métis claims comparable to the lands appropriated for the U.E. Loyalists. Manitoba would be entitled to four members of the House of Commons and two senators. The details of most matters, including constitutional ones, would be left to the local legislature. To ensure that law and order was respected in the new province, a mixed expedition of British and Canadian militia would be sent there as soon as possible.

The leader of the opposition, Alexander Mackenzie, poured considerable scorn on the size and population of the new province, which he said had a ludicrous look that might have come out of *Gulliver's Travels*. He also complained that "half-breeds" were not entitled to land claims as if they were Indians. None of the divisions "which were for so many years so disastrous in our own country" should be perpetuated in the new ones, he insisted. The printed bill was not actually available until the day after Macdonald's opening explanations. It was still being altered. For example, on 3 May Cartier asked the delegates whether it would be acceptable to allow Portage la Prairie within the boundaries of the new province, and they answered yes, providing grants and land reservations were increased. There were other changes on which the delegates were not consulted, and with which they were less happy. But the opening debates left Macdonald sufficiently confident to write the governor-general on 4 May, "The Bill affecting Red River was received last night with great favour by the House, and will pass without any serious opposition."

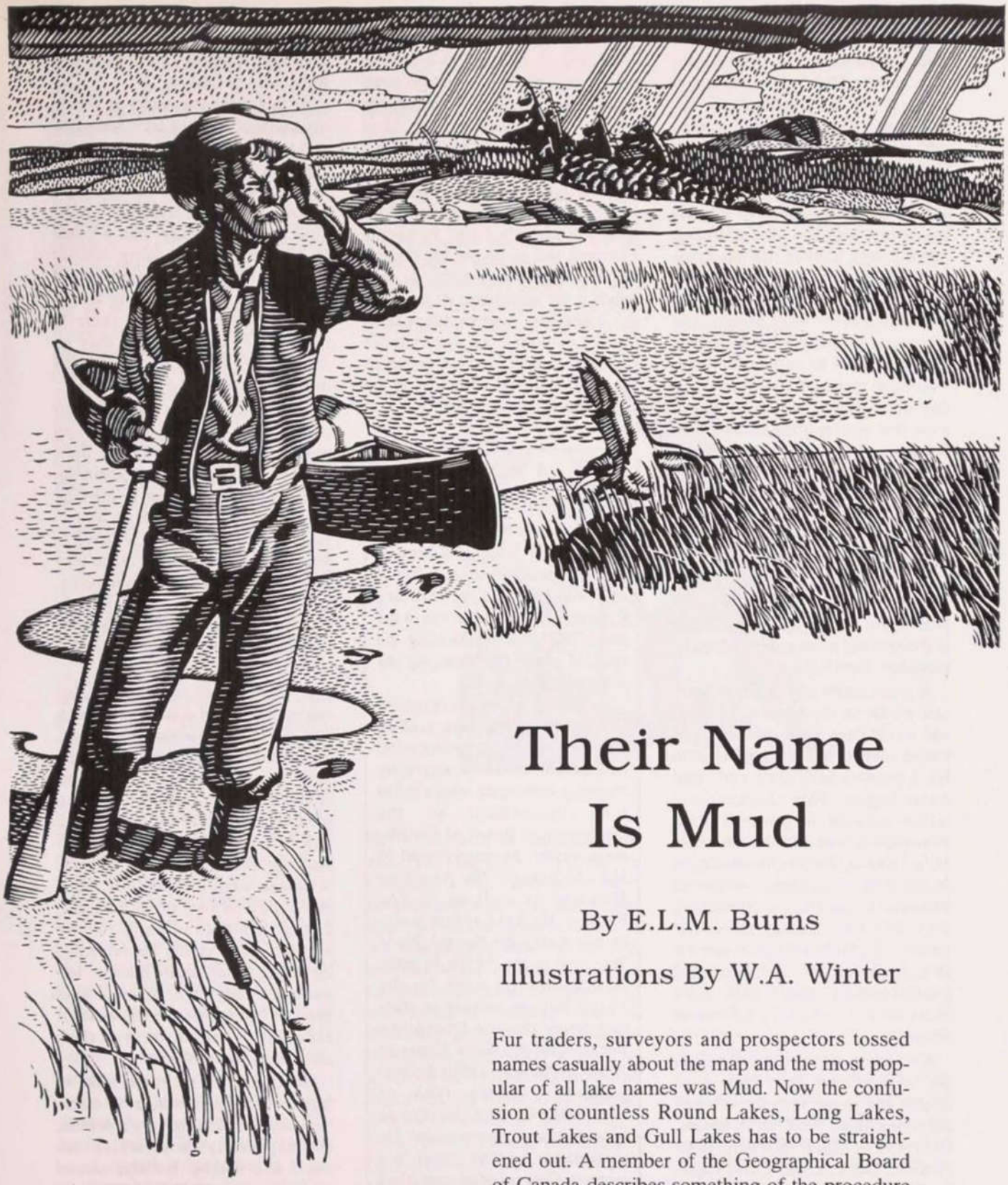
While the Manitoba Act was being discussed by the House of Commons, on 3 May the Red River delegates had an important interview with Governor-general Sir John Young and the British envoy Sir Clinton Murdoch. These two worthies were charged, on behalf of the British government, with making sure that the wishes of the people of Red River were being observed by the Canadian government. The British government had, after all, agreed to commit troops to Red River only on condition that the local inhabitants were satisfied with the transfer. According to Ritchot's testimony in 1874 before a parliamentary commission, on this occasion the governor-general had emphasized that if a satisfactory agreement could not be reached with the Canadians, "I am ready to hear you and Sir Clinton Murdoch has to do you justice." The delegates said they had consented to the Manitoba bill, but were not satis-

fied about the amnesty because they had no written guarantee. Ritchot testified in 1874 that the governor-general pointed to Murdoch and said, "He knows it is the intention of Her Majesty to declare a general amnesty in order to establish peace in the country. Besides you have seen my proclamation, are you familiar with it?" Ritchot responded that the proclamation only promised an amnesty and what he wanted was the "promulgation of the actual amnesty promises." Murdoch emphasized, "You have nothing to fear, Her Majesty wishes but one thing, and that is to pass the sponge over all that has happened in the North-West and establish peace." Ritchot said he would still like something in writing to show the people, and Murdoch replied, "When you are treating with men such as those in whose presence you are today there is no necessity for written guarantees." He said in French, *"tant mettre les points sur les i,"* adding, "you must leave us a certain latitude and you will gain by it." Ritchot responded, "since there is nothing to fear I trust to your words." In their testimony in 1874, both Sir John Young and Sir Clifford Murdoch denied making any such statement, and Murdoch could not even remember ever having met with the Red River delegates.

Apart from the unresolved matter of the amnesty, even as the Manitoba bill was being debated in the House of Commons, Father Ritchot and the other delegates had begun complaining that the official language of the text was modifying the agreement the parties had reached. Ritchot was particularly concerned about the mechanism for distributing the land promised the children of the Métis, now up to 1,400,000 acres. The delegates met with Cartier and Macdonald on this matter on 5 May. According to Ritchot's diary, the Canadian response was that assurance of the verbal understandings not reflected in the document would be given the delegates before they went home. It would be impossible to "get the Bill passed if one changed its form, that they would have a bad enough time to get it passed just as it was, that in any case we had nothing to fear." French-Canadian members of Parliament also told Ritchot that "it was not prudent to touch the basis of the Bill," which could provoke amendments unfavourable to the people of Red River. Ritchot was not in a particularly strong position to raise serious objections, either about the amnesty or the alterations, since the alternative to a negotiated agreement appeared to be one imposed by military force. He could not know that the British would not co-operate militarily if the delegates held firm. On 6 May Prime Minister Macdonald collapsed with what was diagnosed as gall-stones, which meant that he was unable to shepherd the bill through its final reading in the face of fierce criticism from the Orange interests. But in the end all amendments were easily rejected, and it passed its third reading intact, the parliamentary debate shifting without a pause into the question of the military expedition. The Manitoba Act was assented to by the governor-general on 12 May 1870.

The passage of the Manitoba Act was hardly the end of the story. The unresolved questions of the amnesty and the mechanisms for dealing with the land reserved for the children of the Métis would continue to be problems for years. The military expedition of 1870 would raise its own difficulties. Despite the landmark of the Manitoba Act, the appropriate date for marking the anniversary of the official founding of Manitoba remains somewhat problematic. The Manitoba Act became law on 12 May 1870, but the territory of the new province still had not been transferred from the Hudson's Bay Company to the British government to the Canadian government. It is hard to found a province without territory. The actual transfer of territory occurred on 23 June, and the Manitoba Act was proclaimed in Ottawa on 15 July 1870, which ought to have settled the matter. It did not. The problem was that there was no officer of either the British or the Canadian government actually in the new province to exercise any authority under the legislation. The effective government in Manitoba on 15 July was the provisional government headed by Louis Riel, which was totally outside of Canada's legal and constitutional framework. Acceptance of this date as that of the official anniversary would necessarily imply some retroactive recognition of the Riel provisional government, although such recognition at the time would have changed the course of subsequent history. General Garnet Wolseley's expedition did not actually arrive in the province until 20 August and possession of Fort Garry was not taken until 24 August. At that point Wolseley could well have assumed authority, but instead he asked Donald A. Smith to govern in the name of the Council of the old District of Assiniboia (thus presuming that Manitoba had not yet come into existence) until the new lieutenant-governor, Adams G. Archibald, was sworn into office on 2 September 1870. Selection of any of these potential dates makes its own political statement. Partisanship in the matter is probably no less than in 1970, when plans to re-enact the Wolseley takeover were hastily scuttled at the last moment as being politically contentious. In any event, readers of *The Beaver* can make their own choices. ◆

J.M. Bumsted is Professor of History at St. John's College, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg. His two-volume history of Canada was published by Oxford University Press.



Their Name Is Mud

By E.L.M. Burns

Illustrations By W.A. Winter

Fur traders, surveyors and prospectors tossed names casually about the map and the most popular of all lake names was Mud. Now the confusion of countless Round Lakes, Long Lakes, Trout Lakes and Gull Lakes has to be straightened out. A member of the Geographical Board of Canada describes something of the procedure and the problems.

The praises of Canadian pioneers have been sounded in every key, and with all the variations which ingenuity can suggest: to criticize any of their achievements is therefore an unprecedented and somewhat embarrassing task. I hasten to excuse myself of impiety by observing that the criticism which I have to offer falls on a pioneer activity which most people will regard as quite unimportant; that is, the naming of the lakes, streams and mountains of our fair land. Perhaps it is too much to expect that men who have to spend sixteen hours a day chopping down large, tough trees and pulling their roots out of the ground should bring a poet's appositeness to the christening of the lake or creek which lies in their township; but, making all allowances, one must record the fact that the names they chose were mostly trite, savourless, and intolerably repetitious. Anyone who believes that pioneering makes for individuality in thought has never examined many Canadian place names.

A great many of the small lakes and ponds in the Laurentian plain and shield have swampy shores and turbid waters; it is very difficult to fix a point where land ends and water begins. This characteristic seldom escaped the pioneer's penetrating glance: he called such a lake Mud Lake and his contemporaries repeated his performance — several thousand times. On the other hand, if the lake had no sedgy shores and lacked a high percentage of detritus in suspension, the surprised and grateful pioneer called it Clear: there must be half as many Clears as Muds.

Next in the threadbare ranks stand the names derived from shape — as Round and Long; then the zoological series, Bear, Wolf, Deer, Moose, Beaver, Rat, Trout, Salmon, Bass, Pickerel, Duck, Loon, Crow, Eagle. I believe over a hundred examples of each could be found without looking very hard.

Our French compatriots — *colons* or *coureurs de bois* — are no more adept as name-givers; while perhaps not quite so addicted to Mud (although there are several Lacs Vaseux), they show the same passion for commemorating the commoner Canadian fauna; manifold Lacs a l'Ours, a la Truite, Brochet, a l'Orignal and so on are the despair of the cartographer. Another of their habits is the application *en masse* of the adjectives *noir* or *blanche* to bodies of water: an over-simple classification of colours varied as the weather or the elements of the surrounding shores. There are at least four Rivieres Blanches within forty miles of Ottawa.

At this point the reader is probably saying: "A lot of little lakes and streams are called by the same name. So, what?" Well, it is inconvenient, and can lead to misunderstandings, waste of time, and consequently loss of money. Half a dozen Bear Creeks in a mining district would obviously cause confusion, if not lawsuits, and a sporting tourist who has been informed there is good fishing on Bass Lake may go many miles out of his way, if he does not end up at the wrong lake.

Duplications which were of small moment in pioneer days when people did not stir far from their homesteads become very annoying when the motor-car, not to mention the aeroplane, have made us all far-ranging travellers. When we used to know only the Mud Lake in our own township it was a pretty good name, but now that we see the Mud Lakes in a hundred townships it seems to lack distinction, as the literary critics say.

It is when maps representing considerable tracts of country are drawn that the inconveniences of duplication stand out. The geologist, engineer or any other user of the map would like to be sure that when he mentions a feature by name there will be no possibility of misunderstanding him. There could be none if names were unique, but when there may be two or three Trout Lakes within a radius of twenty miles, he must clarify his reference by adding a map square number, latitude and longitude, or directions such as "five miles north-west of Jonesville." And all these devices are some-what cumbrous.

Hence, one of the main tasks in regulating nomenclature is to eliminate names which are very common, and especially those which are duplicated nearby. But this cannot always be done, for local inhabitants sometimes resent any proposal to rebaptize their familiar Mud Lake in

A 'Beaver' Treasury

Eedson Louis Millard (Tommy) Burns (1897-1985) was born at Westmount, Quebec, and graduated from the Royal Military College in 1915. He served in the First World War, attaining the rank of captain and earning the Military Cross.

He was in the Permanent Force between the wars, holding a number of staff appointments, and developed air photography mapping techniques which led to his appointment to the Geographical Board of Canada. As a writer, he contributed to H.L. Mencken's *The American Mercury* as well as to *The Beaver*. He held senior commands during the Second World War and in the 1950s became well known for work for the United Nations, serving as commander of the UN Emergency Force after the Suez Crisis in 1956. In the late 1950s he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, serving as an advisor to the government. He recalled his wartime career in a memoir, *General Mud*, published in 1970. He contributed this article to *The Beaver* in 1936.

some more distinctive style. And if they continue unanimously to call it Mud Lake, it is not of much use for the Geographic Board to decree that it shall be marked on government maps as Mesopotamia Lake.

Here we may set forth briefly what the board's functions and authority are. It consists of representatives of the federal government departments which issue maps, or reports of geographical significance. Set up by order-in-council in 1897, it has the function of deciding on all questions of geographical nomenclature affecting the government service, which includes selecting the correct forms when there are variations and corruptions; determining exactly to what features names apply, and eliminating duplications and other undesirable names so far as possible. The aim of the board's work is, in short, to ensure that when a geographic feature is named in a government publication, it will not be confused with any other. This high ambition has not been attained, but a good deal has been accomplished. As all members of the board serve without remuneration the cost to the public has been small, the only outlay being for printing and secretarial assistance.

In 1899 a second order-in-council invited provincial governments to appoint representatives to the board on condition that they undertook to be guided by its decisions. This has been done by all provinces except Quebec, which has set up its own geographic board, to which the Dominion body refers all questions of names within the province.

It must be remembered that there is no legal authority for geographic names, except those of towns etc. incorporated by statute. It is obviously not practicable to decree that all men shall know certain things by certain names. This means that the board, though it has authority to say what names shall be used in federal government publications, has no real authority to say what names the man in the street — or rather the man in the fields and woods — shall use. In other words, the board must be guided by usage, sentiment, and the convenience of the public — interpreting the last principle in terms of the future; *e.g.*, it may cause a little upset to change the name of Mud Lake today, but when people have got used to the new name it will be to the general advantage.

Readers of this magazine will probably have noticed the curious discrepancy between the Hudson Bay of the official Canadian maps and the Hudson's Bay of the Company's title. This is the most notable application of one of the board's rules of nomenclature; to wit, that the possessive form is to be avoided whenever possible. This rule has been made to accord with what seems to be modern usage. A century or so ago the possessive was customarily used: when an explorer discovered something new and important, his name in the possessive was attached to it; *e.g.*, Vancouver's Island, the original form. But within the last hundred years there seems to have been a change in the language, and we now feel that in attaching the name of the explorer or other honoured person to a feature we should not use the possessive, because, after all, he does not own it. Old Henry did not own the bay, and Captain Vancouver did not own the island. This argument may seem pedantic, but it is supported by usage in other spheres. Boyle's law, Halley's Comet, and Newton's rings were the names science used to give, and still uses; but now we speak of the Einstein theory, the Keenley-Heaviside layer, and the Dirac equation.

The above is the board's principle; in practice it is often found that Canadians refuse to be deprived of the apostrophes in their local names. Some years ago a daring attempt of the board to abstract the "'s" from Smith's Falls was repulsed, and there have been numerous other cases where the possessive has been retained though the features have usually been small.

The board also warns christeners of settlements to avoid the use of "city, town or ville" as part of the name. Practically every Canadian can call to mind some decent hamlet made ridiculous by a pretentious name compounded from one of these. The board is not obliged to

give names to features which have none, and it is very thankful that this task has not been laid upon it. What might be involved will be grasped if one looks at an air photo of the Canadian North. There one will see a typical piece of northern territory, with some one hundred lakes in view. When the intensive surveying of our great North with the aid of air photos began very many maps were produced of territory such as this, each one with innumerable lakes, some of which were of important size, and practically all of which were nameless. And nameless are

thousands of peaks in our mountain ranges. A map which shows us the size, shape and exact location of these lakes and mountains is of considerable use, but we should also like to know what to call them.

The map makers have had to apply themselves to the task of obtaining names for the most important features. In the old days when surveyors worked on the ground, they used their own names, and those of their assistants, their cooks and packers, and of the wives, sweethearts and children of the whole party. The disadvantages of this formula are obvious; of recent years the practice has been eliminated through the survey departments having adopted a self-denying ordinance. However, a retired government surveyor with a good record may have a lake or mountain named after him of dimensions appropriate to his salary.

About 1920 some ingenious or patriotic cartographer bethought himself that the heroes of the Great War constituted an inexhaustible reservoir of names. But the demand was so great that the generals' names were used up very soon. By that time the revulsion against military glory had convinced the name givers that it would be unwise to go down the list until the lance-corporals were reached.

Indian and Eskimo names are the most distinctive which we have in Canada, and most people approaching the naming problem for the first time think that it can be solved easily by pressing the aboriginal tongues into service. But this plan has its limitations. The fund of Indian ideas is by no means as numerous as the lakes of Canada. When they give a name they usually start off, as the Canadian pioneer does, with a beaver, a fish, or a wolf, or some specifications as to size of shape. Then, seeing the need for distinguishing between this Amisk Lake and the one a few days' journey away, they add a short anecdote about this particular beaver (amisk). Indians were not pressed for time. They ended up with a name of ten or twelve syllables which would quite defeat the white man's powers of pronunciation, even if he had the ambition to attempt it. The Algonkian tribes seem to have an extraordinary predilection for the sound "k", some names recall the chattering of the chipmunk on a stonepile; e.g., Kekkekwabi, Kakinokamak. Unfortunately, the letter "k" looks strange and somehow offensive to the eyes of our French compatriots, so, when they consent to use such names at all, they change "ks" into "cs" which does not always indicate the pronunciation so clearly.

When the Geographic Board has an eight-cylinder Indian or Eskimo name submitted to it, it tries, with

the assistance of experts in the language, to carve it down to a reasonable mouthful, while preserving the central idea. The agglomerative Indian tongues generally lend themselves to this process; *e.g.*, *Kaminnaweiskagwok* trimmed down to *Minnaweiskag*, and *Kahwambejewagamog* to *Kawagama*.

Now that it has been explained how hard it is to find good or even tolerable names, readers will understand why only the largest features on maps of unsettled territory have been christened. If, in a geological, water-power or other report, it is necessary to refer to and distinguish between the minor lakes, streams and hills, it will probably be best to do so by means of square or co-ordinate references. This is what the military do when they have to specify nameless localities with precision, as in operation orders. It is also a safeguard against the pitfall of duplicated names.

So it is probable that many of the less important lakes, rivers and mountains beyond our present frontier will be designated only by some number, such as 4,785 or 124-76, until settlement or mining activity reaches them. Then, probably, the river will be christened Trout, the mountain Baldy, and the name of the lake will be Mud. ◆

***The Beaver*, June 1936**

Surrounded By Enemies

Allan Levine looks at John Diefenbaker's last stand

For the seven turbulent years John Diefenbaker was the prime minister of Canada, from 1957 to 1963, he was angry and upset with many people, but especially with journalists he felt had betrayed his trust and friendship. The 61-year-old lawyer who assumed the leadership of the country in 1957, while brilliant on a platform and engaging and witty in front of an audience, was equally insecure, often emotionally immature, and unskilled at managing other people. He was overly sensitive about the pronounciation of his German-sounding name and could rarely laugh at himself. He also possessed a huge ego, unmatched in Ottawa in his time.

He allowed his pride and emotions to govern his stormy relationship with President John F. Kennedy, a fatal error for any prime minister. Unable to compete with JFK's style and youth, and bothered by the American president's view that Canada should blindly follow U.S. foreign policy, Diefenbaker grew hostile. When he accidentally found one of the president's confidential briefing memos prepared by adviser Walt Rostow for Kennedy's meeting with Diefenbaker in Ottawa in May, 1961 ("What We Want from Ottawa Trip"), he not only failed to return it to the Americans, but threatened to blackmail Kennedy with it. In late 1962, when Diefenbaker learned that Kennedy was meeting privately with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in Nassau to discuss the troubled state of East-West relations he pouted because he was not invited. "He was just like a little boy being left out of a game of tag," said his secretary Bunny Pound. "He was practically in tears."

The acquisition of power changes most people. Some are able to rise above the trivialities that go along with their new status, but not Diefenbaker. He tasted power and enjoyed it. No one, not even his closest friends, dared call him "John" after 10 June 1957; he was "Mr. Prime Minister". "I may be wrong," he would say pompously to reporters, "but I have never been on the side of wrong." In his mind, he was in the same league as his heroes — John A. Macdonald, Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt — and faced

the same tough decisions and challenges as they had. Diefenbaker saw himself as a nation-builder like John A., the "unsworn enemy of injustice", and the protector of the common man against "the powerful establishments" that ran the country.

Confronting him in this quest to attain national salvation he believed, was a grand conspiracy — led by the Liberals, supported by the money of Toronto's Bay Street, encouraged by the media, and planned by the Americans. "He was paranoid, neurotic and had a 'Nixonian' complex even before Richard Nixon," says former *Globe and Mail* reporter and managing editor

There were smiles all around in the Oval Office when Diefenbaker visited President John F. Kennedy in 1963, but the two leaders, in fact, disliked one another.

Clark Davey. "'They're out to get me', he would say, but you couldn't find out who the 'they' was." No matter, by 1963, following the revolt in his cabinet over the acquisition of nuclear weapons, "there was no question", Diefenbaker later wrote, "that everyone was against me but the people."

Never had there been quite such an emotional and tumultuous period in Canadian politics as the ten months which followed the 1962 election. The economy was in a poor state, the world seemed on the brink of nuclear war, Canada's relations with the United States were at a low ebb, and the Conservative cabinet was in a state of disarray. Throughout this period not only did the media continue to slash away at Diefenbaker, but several of its most important members themselves became key participants in the political process.

As Tom Van Dusen, one of the prime minister's chief assistants, later remembered, "a number [of journalists] had felt [Diefenbaker's] wrath, privately and publicly and in many cases had added to the Liberal leanings of their newspapers. The result was that in his final period in office, press animosity became a powerful political factor contributing to his defeat. There was little justification for this situation." By early 1963, "the majority of those in positions of control in the media were against him. Liberal newspapers and television stations opposed him on partisan grounds; the Conservative press in great measure had written him off and wanted him out. He was thus subjected to fierce criticism from both sides as the Liberal and Conservative press attempted to out-do each other."

Diefenbaker himself set the tone for his relations with the media soon after the election. He was so angry with his coverage in *Maclean's* that he cancelled his subscription and encouraged his associates to do the same. And the Conservative austerity programme, most notably a $1 billion loan (from the United States and European money funds) to stabilize the Canadian dollar, drew the ire of Canadian editors. The Liberal *Winnipeg Free Press* declared that Diefenbaker had transformed Canada into "an under-developed Asian state in need of charity."

But it was Diefenbaker's convoluted foreign policy, especially his relations with the United States and his indecision on whether to arm the Bomarc missiles and the five squadrons of Voodo interceptor jets with nuclear warheads that journalists concentrated on. The acceptance of nuclear weapons appeared certain after Diefenbaker cancelled the Avro Arrow contract in 1959 and opted for the Bomarc-B anti-aircraft missiles. There was no point installing the missiles if the nuclear warheads were not installed as well. Yet, nothing was ever that straightforward with John Diefenbaker, and to make matters worse in this case, his cabinet was

divided on the issue. In one corner was Secretary of State for External Affairs Howard Green, who was "horrified at the prospect of nuclear war", and in the other was Douglas Harkness, the minister of defence, who saw no other option but to accept the warheads. Complicating the matter further was the question of Canadian commitments in NORAD and NATO, as well as the powerful pressure exerted by President Kennedy, who more than Diefenbaker worried about a Soviet attack on North America.

For more than two years, Diefenbaker did what he did best: he stalled. He was not going to be pushed around by a "young pup" like Kennedy; nor was he convinced that the Canadian public supported the nuclear acquisition. At a meeting in Ottawa in May, 1961, Diefenbaker had given JFK assurances that a decision in favour of U.S. demands was imminent. The crisis in Berlin over Soviet demands that NATO forces withdraw from West Germany intensified, and Kennedy wrote the Canadian prime minister a confidential letter on 3 August, reminding him of his commitment. Diefenbaker wrote back suggesting action was forthcoming. (On 13 August, the East Germans cut Berlin in half by building a wall between the east and west sections of the city.) About a month later, these letters were leaked to *Newsweek* magazine and made headlines in Canada. "JFK Presses Canada on Nuclear Warheads" blared the *Montreal Star.* Because *Newsweek*'s publisher, Philip Graham, and its Washington editor, Ben Bradlee, were Kennedy confidants, Diefenbaker could not help but conclude that the leak originated in the White House Oval Office. This incident infuriated him.

Meanwhile in Ottawa, the Canadian military propaganda team led by Wing Commander Bill Lee, later a premier lobbyist and political strategist for the Liberals, urged his many friends in the press gallery to write stories which showed "the lunacy of Diefenbaker's nuclear policy". The U.S. Ambassador to Canada, Livingston Merchant, who found Diefenbaker impossible to deal with, was busy lobbying as well. In the home of his assistant, Chuck Kisslejack, he held a series of informal off-the-record chats with Ottawa journalists to offer the American perspective on Diefenbaker's indecisive foreign policy. Later, when the prime minister discovered this "scandalous school", as he labelled the briefings, he became further convinced of a Kennedy-led conspiracy to destroy him. More than anything, though, his feelings were hurt because none of the reporters let him know about the meetings. That Diefenbaker would have expected such loyalty from the group of men he had scorned for the past four years is a good indication of just how faulty his political antenna had become by the spring of 1962.

In the fall of that year, the world watched as Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev battled each other over the discovery of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Diefenbaker learned of the U.S. decision to impose a blockade around the island only two hours before the president appeared on television to announce the policy, and was rightly upset that he had not been consulted, merely "informed". By this time, apparently, Canada was an ally that could not be trusted. In any event, Diefenbaker at first refused to order Canadian forces to "full alert" status (known as "Defcon 3") as the Americans requested, suggesting an on-site inspection instead. The order finally came two days into the crisis (Harkness had actually ignored the prime minister and approved it earlier), but the press lambasted Diefenbaker for his cautious attitude. "For those who have had to watch the indecisive Diefenbaker Government in action," editorialized the *Toronto Star,* "this will seem like extraordinary haste." (The *Star* made much of the fact that at the height of the crisis on 24 October Prime Minister Diefenbaker had spent the day planting tulip bulbs with his wife in their Sussex Drive garden.) The real point, however, was that when the alerted Canadian military stood at the ready, its Bomarcs and Voodo jets were missing the necessary nuclear warheads, much like, in columnist Patrick Nicholson's words, "bows without arrows".

Once Khrushchev backed down and the threat of nuclear war subsided, at least for the moment, Douglas Harkness and other cabinet ministers were determined that this issue had to be resolved. Events moved quickly after this. On 3 January 1963, retiring American NATO commander General Lauris Norstad held an impromptu press conference in Ottawa. When asked by Charles Lynch of Southam News if Canada had a commitment to NATO to acquire nuclear weapons, he responded in the affirmative. Pierre Sevigny, the associate minister of defence, knew "that all hell would break loose" after Diefenbaker heard about this. He was right.

Then, to make matters worse for the government, Liberal leader Lester Pearson, who had publicly opposed nuclear weapons since 1945, heeded his political advisors (including Jack Pickersgill and Richard S. Malone, the publisher of the *Winnipeg Free Press*), and declared in a speech at Scarborough on 12 January, that Canada did indeed have a responsibility to live up to its NATO commitments. The nuclear warheads had to be accepted, the Liberal leader stated. Diefenbaker condemned both General Norstad's interfering comments and Pearson's about-face. He found an unlikely ally in Pierre Trudeau, then a constitutional law professor and writer in Montreal, who labelled his future boss "the unfrocked priest of peace". Still, editorial reaction was almost completely against Diefenbaker and in favour of Pearson (some exceptions were the *Winnipeg Tribune* and the *Ottawa Journal,* which ridiculed the Liberal leader's sudden change of policy).

Caught with his halo: "I may be wrong, but I have never been on the side of wrong." Diefenbaker usually saw himself on the side of the angels.

In Toronto, John Bassett, the publisher of the *Telegram* and until this point a strong supporter of the prime minister, had lost faith in Diefenbaker's judgment, as the *Globe and Mail*'s Oakley Dalgleish had a few years earlier. The Liberal press, led by the *Toronto Star* and *Winnipeg Free Press,* were even more vehement in their criticism. In a 3 January editorial reviewing the Conservatives' foreign policy, the *Free Press* commented that Diefenbaker's actions had "reduced our defence policy to fiasco, poisoned our relations with the American people and humiliated the people of Canada. To such a record of pugnacity abroad and indecision at home, there is no parallel in Canadian experience. Canada has behaved for the last five years like a small boy with a chip on his shoulder who asserts his strength by snarling at grown men." This might have been an exaggeration, but the moment of decision for Douglas Harkness, at least, had arrived. He told the prime minister that he would resign if the nuclear weapons were not accepted.

On Friday, 25 January, in the Commons, Prime Minister Diefenbaker delivered the most important speech of his career. But instead of clarifying his stand on nuclear weapons, he left his colleagues, the opposition, and journalists shaking their heads. "It was a masterpiece of confusion," wrote Maurice Western of the *Winnipeg Free Press*. "Far from clarifying the Government's defence policy," added the *Globe and Mail,* "Prime Minister John Diefenbaker ... left the picture more confused than ever." Diefenbaker also offered his unique interpretation of his talks with the United States describing how, at a recent meeting in Nassau, Kennedy and British Prime Minister Macmillan had agreed to move away from nuclear weapons and towards the use of conventional arms.

Howard Green, as well as most members of the media, viewed Diefenbaker's remarks as a rejection of nuclear warheads, but Douglas Harkness thought exactly the opposite. When he read the editorials the next day, Harkness decided, without first consulting Diefenbaker, to issue a press release clarifying the intent of the prime minister's speech. Diefenbaker was far from pleased with Harkness for this initiative and determined to proceed on the nuclear issue in his own way and on his own schedule.

The best was yet to come. Angered by the prime minister's attempts to twist what had transpired at Nassau, the U.S. State Department, acting without the authorization of the president, issued a harshly-worded press release of its own on 30 January that basically called Diefenbaker a liar. Journalists were shocked by the critical tone of the American document, but little sympathy was forthcoming for Diefenbaker. As the *Toronto Star* put it in an editorial the next day, "Canadians have every reason to resent the tone of this message from Washington ... Yet indignation over American high-handedness should not blind us to the fact that this quarrel is very largely the fault of the Diefenbaker government." The prime minister was curiously delighted with this turn of events, believing he could fight the next election on an anti-American platform, as John A. Macdonald had in 1891. This idea was greeted with little enthusiasm from other Tory ministers and most editors.

In Washington, President Kennedy was outraged with his advisor McGeorge Bundy and acting Secretary of State George Ball, who had approved the State Department press release. He used his good friend Max Freedman, a Canadian journalist who wrote for the *Winnipeg Free Press* and *Manchester Guardian,* to spread the word that he had not authorized the department's communique. Among other things, Freedman assisted Kennedy in preparing his inaugural address of January, 1960 and acted as an intermediary between JFK and Lester Pearson.

On Saturday, 2 February, two events of note occurred: Chief Justice Patrick Kerwin died and the annual parliamentary press gallery dinner was held. Out of respect for Chief Justice Kerwin, Diefenbaker decided that the attending politicians would not give their usual witty speeches; the prime minister was obviously in no mood for revelry. The evening did not go well. The hit song of the reporters' musical review was a tune that insinuated

that Diefenbaker had "Harkness's disease". Rumours had been circulating in Ottawa for years that the prime minister's constant shaking was caused by Parkinson's disease. With his poor hearing, Diefenbaker believed the irreverant reporters were mocking him about this in their song. Following the performance, Walter Gray of the *Globe and Mail,* who was in charge of the evening, received one of Diefenbaker's famed tongue lashings. "I couldn't believe it," Gray later told his editor Richard Doyle, "he was certain the whole thing was a part of the plot against him. He had said that the *Globe and Mail* was at the bottom of his trouble. It was fantastic. He stood very close to me and shouted. I could feel his spittle on my face."

The same evening, a minor argument had errupted between columnist Charles Lynch and his guest, Douglas Harkness, over the fact that the minister had not yet resigned. If there was anything Harkness prided himself on, "it was his integrity", said Agriculture Minister Alvin Hamilton. Harkness had reached his breaking point. The next day, at one of the stormiest cabinet meetings ever held at 24 Sussex Drive, "all hell broke loose" — again. By lunch time, Harkness had declared his intention to resign. As reporters watched the comings and goings at the prime minister's residence and in the corridors of Parliament that Sunday and Monday, the picture of a well-organized plot — or "*coup d'etat,*" as Peter Newman later called it in his book *Renegade in Power* — began to take shape in their minds.

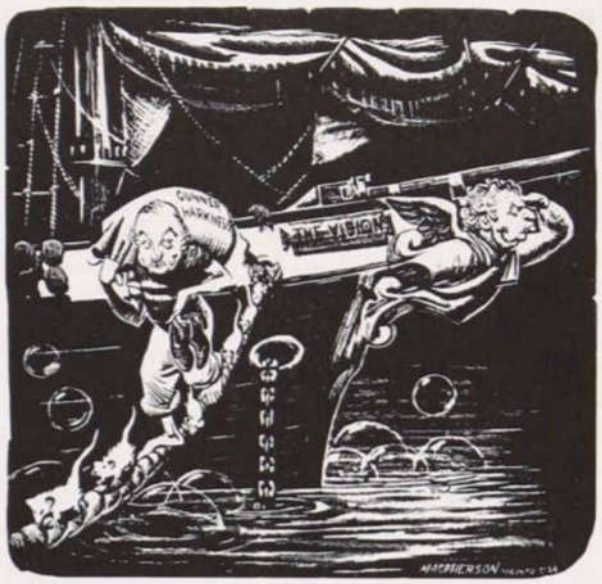
Reading the memoirs and comments of the participants thirty years later, one can see that what journalists took for a conspiracy was nothing more than the actions of several unhappy and confused cabinet ministers who were desperate to save their government, their honour, and their power. At the same time, by their apparent clandestine and unexplained gatherings, these ministers were as much, or more, to blame for the formulation of the conspiracy theory as anyone. As Pierre Sevigny recalled, "The tragic nonsense that marked our actions during those four momentous days was the total lack of communication among the members of Diefenbaker's entourage. If only the ministers and other key members of the party had been reasonable enough to get together in a full-dress, co-ordinated discussion of our political problems, a solution would have been found, and all this cloak-and-dagger political juggling might have been put aside."

A few meetings, as early as December, 1962, were held at the home of columnist Patrick Nicholson, who acted as an intermediary between the Social Credit's novice leader, Robert Thompson, and some disgruntled members of the Diefenbaker cabinet. Thompson had no desire to bring down the government, but he felt that he and his Quebec colleagues could no longer support the prime minister. Later, in the panic over Harkness's resignation, George Hees, Davie Fulton and Senator Wallace McCutcheon, a Toronto businessman who had joined the cabinet following the 1962 election, proposed to Diefenbaker that he resign in exchange for an appointment as the new chief justice. Diefenbaker, not surprisingly, refused.

On Tuesday morning, 5 February, Hees convened a private meeting in his Commons' office to discuss with some of his colleagues — the so-called anti-Diefenbaker faction — the Liberal motion of non-confidence made the day before and to brief them on talks George Nowlan had had with Robert Thompson. The Social Credit MPs were prepared to support a "caretaker government" headed by Nowlan. But just as the meeting got underway, it was learned that someone had leaked its whereabouts and agenda to the media. As Immigration Minister Richard Bell recalled: "while the meeting was in progress, and before anything had been discussed in anything than the most informal way, we heard a newscast in which it was reported that a group of ministers were in George Hees's office engaged in a conspiracy. At the time the newscast came on the ministers had said almost nothing ... By the time we left George Hees's office, the corridor was filled with Press Gallery people. We were running the gauntlet and the story was out that this had been the grand conspiracy ... I deny completely having been at the time involved in any discussion of the dislodgement of the prime minister in anything more than what was really an academic discussion. These were Bob Thompson's terms: Nowlan as caretaker prime minister."

Throughout the day, as reporters tracked the conspiracy story, Robert Thompson was waiting for an answer from Nowlan and Michael Wardell, the publisher of the *Fredericton Gleaner* and a close friend of Diefenbaker's, who had been asked to act as a mediator. By 7:00 p.m. when no reply was forthcoming, the writing was on the wall. A little over a hour later, the Diefenbaker government was defeated on a motion of non-confidence, 142 to 111. An election was soon set for 8 April.

Across the country, the overwhelming consensus among editors and commentators was that Diefenbaker had to go. "The man who could not lead the government into action to cure Canada's economic difficulties is unfit to lead the Conservative party into action in this election," declared a front-page *Globe and Mail* editorial. "For the sake of the party and the country, he should give up the leadership." Even the *Hamilton Spectator,* loyal to the Tories since John A. Macdonald's day, concluded that "the Diefenbaker administration has broken its coherent links with the Conservative tradition, and jeopardized principles for which the party has stood for decades."



Toronto Star

This political melodrama was not over yet. Diefenbaker's supporters had moved up the time of the regular Wednesday morning caucus to nine o'clock, before the scheduled cabinet meeting. It was rightly believed that the prime minister's popularity was still strong among the backbenchers. As predicted, the caucus backed Diefenbaker and reduced George Hees to tears when he argued for the prime minister's resignation. At exactly the right moment, the doors of the meeting room flew open so that the waiting mob of reporters could hear the cheers of solidarity. "The prime minister is still the prime minister and will be after the next election," Senator McCutcheon declared as he left the room. "We've never been more united," added Hees, "We're going to kick the hell out of the Grits." Poor Douglas Harkness was left to stand as the lone renegade. The dumbfounded journalists and their editors could not believe what they were hearing.

At the *Globe and Mail,* Oakley Dalgleish, for one, had had enough. Unwilling to believe that there had not been a cabinet revolt, he wrote in an editorial on 8 February, entitled "A Matter of Morality," that Hees, McCutcheon, and others were not telling Canadians the truth. Moreover, he resented the blame directed at the media for conjuring the whole thing up. "It is simple to blame the press and the other media," he wrote. "It is easy to speak in confidence on one day ... and then the next day to deny it and accuse the media of falsification. This newspaper has had enough of it. We want no more of these treacherous confidences." Here was the most significant shift in journalistic thinking since the Pipeline Debate of 1956.

Following the caucus meeting, Hees spoke on the phone with Eddie Goodman, the Ontario Tory organizer, and John Bassett of the *Toronto Telegram.* They expressed shock at Hees's public support for the man he had wanted replaced and urged him to have the government meet its defence commitments. On Saturday, 9 February, after two days of drinking and endless talking, Hees — along with the acting minister of defence, Pierre Sevigny — handed Diefenbaker their resignations. (Sevigny was upset with Diefenbaker saying to a reporter that there was no chance that Sevigny would become the permanent minister of defence.) Tories later blamed Hees for the Conservative loss, while newspapers questioned his integrity and actions over the past week. John Diefenbaker, who as the *Globe and Mail* observed, was "so busy seeking out conspiracies" that he had "little time for anything else", would come to regard the resignation of Hees and Sevigny as a last and desperate ploy to drive him from the prime ministership.

In all, three key cabinet ministers had resigned and three more — Davie Fulton, Donald Fleming and Ernest Halpenny — chose not to run for re-election in 1963 for personal reasons. Back in his accustomed role as the besieged underdog, Diefenbaker put on a great show in the early spring of 1963, attacking the Liberals, the Americans, and the "sinister interests" that were plotting to dethrone him.

The media, both Canadian and American, were in this last category of villains. The Tories, particularly, made good use of the 18 February issue of *Newsweek* magazine which had as its cover story "Canada's Diefenbaker: Decline and Fall". In Ottawa, it was sold out hours after it hit the newsstands. The cover photo itself was worth a thousand words — Diefenbaker, angry and deranged, his hair and eyes blazing.

Written by staffer Dwight Martin, presumably with instructions and editorial advice from his boss, Ben Bradlee, the feature article was as partisan an attack on Diefenbaker as ever had been published. "Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan can hardly bear the sight of him, and President Kennedy dislikes him cordially. His Tory colleagues in Britain's House of Commons say: 'it would be too flattering to dismiss him just as a superficial fellow — he's really much dimmer than that.'" (When told by a Canadian reporter that his article had been condemned by the Conservatives, Martin replied, "Really, well I find that unusual because there was certainly no direct criticism of Mr. Diefenbaker.")

If it was Bradlee's intention to embarrass Diefenbaker, then the article had exactly the opposite effect. Dalton Camp, the national chairman of the Conservative campaign, dispatched copies across the country, encouraging constituency presidents to "condemn it in the strongest terms".

Diefenbaker made the most of the situation. "The *Newsweek* article was all part of a plan to destroy me," he told an audience in Charlottetown near the end of

the campaign. "A man came from Washington and met with the Who's Who of the Liberal Party. They planned that. They awaited that. It was conceived in Liberal headquarters in Ottawa."

Though Diefenbaker was more entertaining than ever on the campaign trail, he had lost his credibility with the major newspapers and urban voters. Not since 1917 had so many papers turned on one political leader. Other than the *Ottawa Journal, Winnipeg Tribune, Vancouver Province* and *Fredericton Gleaner,* all other metropolitan dailies came out against Diefenbaker. "The Tories of 1963," opined the *Edmonton Journal* on 15 March, "are disorganized, dispirited, disrupted and disgraced. And they should be dismissed."

It took John Bassett of the *Telegram* until 30 March, eight days before the vote, to publish an editorial supporting the Liberals. "The *Telegram* has consistently supported the principles advocated in the past by the Progressive Conservative Party. In now advocating the election of Mr. Pearson and his Party, the *Telegram* has not deserted these principles. But the *Telegram* believes the Prime Minister has so compromised these principles that Canada's position at home and abroad will immeasurably deteriorate under his continued leadership. The election campaign has hardened and sharpened this view." That day, Bassett sent Diefenbaker a telegram apologizing for the editorial. "Son of a bitch", was apparently Diefenbaker's response. Many Ontario Tories were dumbfounded by the switch. "It is as though devout Christians have had to face the fact that the *Bible* is a false, spurious document," one of them told *Telegram* columnist Douglas Fisher. John Bassett, too, regretted his decision. "The '63 election was very difficult," he remembered. "But I thought that as a matter of policy [the Conservatives] had been wrong."

Diefenbaker's loss of urban media support as well as his indecisiveness on the nuclear issue, ultimately cost him dearly at the polls on 8 April. Still, he was popular in the West where his rantings against the "Eastern interests" won favour. Pearson and the Liberals, came within a few seats of a majority (129 out of 265), but lost too many constituencies to the Social Credit in Quebec (of the province's 75 seats, the Liberals won 47, the Social Credit 20, and the Conservatives 8).

Press and TV reporters would forever remember John Diefenbaker as "Canada's greatest political actor of the century", but for the moment they had become increasingly cynical about the politicians they covered. Yet, Lester Pearson deserved a chance. They, like the rest of the country, looked to him for the leadership that had been sorely lacking for the past year. He had the vast majority of journalists in his corner on 8 April, 1963. The question was, could he keep them there? ◆

Allan Levine is a writer and historian based in Winnipeg. This article is adapted from his book, "Scrum Wars: The Prime Ministers and the Media" published by Dundurn Press.

A Few Words from 'The Chief'

- My friends, you say 'Give 'em hell, John!' I never do that. I tell the truth and it sounds like hell. It simply sounds that way to the Grits.
- They criticize me sometimes for being too much concerned with the average Canadian. I can't help that. I'm just one of them.
- Ah, but don't get me started on history because then you shall know the meaning of eternity.
- Have you ever seen him [Pierre Trudeau] kissing a farmer?
- Everyone is against me but the people.
- I know there are some who feel a sense of embarrassment in expressing pride in their nation, perhaps because of the fear that they might be considered old-fashioned or parochial. I do not belong to that group. I realize that a warped and twisted nationalism is productive of tyranny. But a healthy loyalty and devotion to one's country constitutes a most fruitful inspiration in life.
- There are great interests against us — national and international — but the people of Canada have an appointment with destiny.
- I never campaign. I just visit with the people.
- I am the first prime minister of this country of neither altogether English nor French origin. So I determined to bring about a Canadian citizenship that knew no hyphenated consideration ... Well, I never deviated from this purpose. It's the reason I went into public life. I'm very happy to be able to say that in the House of Commons we have members of Italian, Dutch, German, Scandinavian, Chinese and Ukrainian origin — and they are all Canadians.
- Among those I did appoint to the Senate ... was Grattan O'Leary, a long-time Conservative and editor of the *Ottawa Journal.* O'Leary had never been one of my supporters, indeed he had fought me openly through the years, but he had served the party over a long period and I hoped that this recognition would contribute to the unity of the party. Appointment to the Senate, however, seemed to lessen his sense of party responsibility. Indeed, in a speech in the Senate on the evening of 7 December 1962, he devoted himself to building up the Opposition. ◆

Hot Day at Streeter's Farm

By Ian McCulloch

RED COATS AND GREY JACKETS
The Battle of Chippawa, 5 July 1814

By Donald E. Graves. Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1994. 210 pp., illus. $18.99.

Between a shady country road and the banks of the Niagara River, about three miles south of the great falls, stands a lonely stone cairn with a modest plaque commemorating a battlefield of the War of 1812. It is not grand and imposing like the towering Brock Monument erected on the heights overlooking Queenston, nor does it resemble the solid obelisk memorial at Lundy's Lane some five miles away, where the bloodiest battle of the war was fought. The plaque does not even mention that the dead from both sides are buried not far from where the small cairn stands. Perhaps this is a reflection of the fact that Chippawa was a battle lost — an American victory on Canadian soil.

No attempt has been made to preserve the battlesite which, according to Donald Graves, "has changed remarkably little since 1814". As most of it remains private property, a 1991 real estate development scheme to build residences on the battlefield sparked the first real interest in the site for many years. Protests from local historical groups and eventually the British and American governments saw Graves get involved as an historian of the Directorate of History in the Department of National Defence.

Graves' mission was to compile a series of reports on the course of the battle, the physical features of the actual battlefield, and the names of the men on both sides who were killed in the action. It is this fieldwork, coupled with his expertise on the Niagara frontier campaign of 1814, presented to the general public in his recent book *The Battle of Lundy's Lane* (reviewed in *The Beaver,* October/November 1994), that has given birth to *Red Coats and Grey Jackets.*

The story of the Battle of Chippawa has been "nearly forgotten" by Canadians according to Graves and, if recalled at all, usually merits a few lines as the unsuccessful prelude to the far bloodier battle of Lundy's Lane fought three weeks later. For Graves this neglect is unfortunate "for many reasons, not the least of which is the fact that Canadian soldiers and their native allies played a far greater part at Chippawa (and suffered heavier losses) than in most battles of the war of 1812." The Americans, by contrast, remember it as their first victory over the British Army in a stand-up fight on a plain, their general, Jacob Brown, and his officers becoming household heroes of the day. "Small as the affair was, and unimportant in military results," wrote one American historian, "it gave to the United States Army a character and pride it had never before possessed."

In total, over 4,000 British, Canadian and American soldiers, as well as many warriors of the various first nations fought in and around the rich farmland and woods of Canadian farmer, Samuel Streeter, located near Chippawa, Ontario. When the fighting was over and the cool breezes of evening had blown the last palls of whitish-grey smoke away from the bloody plain, over 200 men lay dead or wounded.

As one gets into the book one invariably finds that the first four chapters resemble to a large degree the first few chapters in *The Battle of Lundy's Lane,* Graves' previous book, and, in some cases, are mere reworkings of the same information. By the end (which comes very quickly), one finds there really isn't much new information offered at all in this Dundurn Press compilation. In fact, the 210 page book is a little less than 75 pages of narrative padded by 76 pages of maps, illustrations and captions, plus a hefty 61 pages of preface, appendices, acknowledgements, bibliography and endnotes.

The only really new information contained in this book, in addition to William Constable's excellent maps depicting the various phases of the battle (two appear, however, in the Lundy's Lane book), would seem to be the presentation of Graves' data collected for his unpublished DND report entitled "The Human Remains of the Battle of Chippawa, 5 July, 1814 ...". Graves contends that the "official" battle casualty figures compiled after the battle of 763 dead and wounded (and generally accepted by most historians) are wrong. His research into military records in archives in London, Ottawa and Washington reveals that the figure is now closer to 200 killed

and his appendices list the number and the names of the men killed on both sides.

This is not to say the book is not well written. Graves' descriptions of the battle and recounting of its participants' personal experiences therein are first-rate. Numerous photographs in the book by Robert Foley lend credence to Graves claim that the battlefield of Chippawa is "possibly the most pristine musket-period battle site in eastern North America". Graves even indulges in a bit of myth-busting in one of his appendices, discoursing on, among other things, the oft-quoted (and embellished) statement by General Riall on mistaking the grey-jacketed American regulars as militia: "Why, these are regulars!"

The book taken as a whole is a neat little primer on 1812 tactics and weaponry as well as the ideal tour guide booklet to the would-be explorer of the battlefield. Graves writes a fitting epitaph:

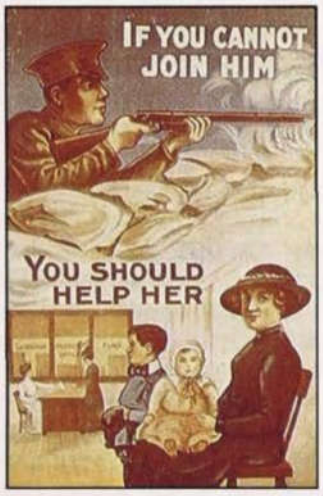
> To the casual visitor the battlefield today is an unremarkable flat farm field, but to the enlightened it is the final resting place of some two hundred American, British and Canadian soldiers and native warriors from many different nations ... They have been there since 1814 although, as the ground has been almost continuously farmed in the intervening 180 years, they may not rest undisturbed. It matters not — for this ground is hallowed by their presence.

While the contents of *Red Coats and Grey Jackets* may have already been adequately covered in Graves' previous book, it is an important tool of the Chippawa Battlefield Preservation Society which is now making valiant efforts to acquire and protect this important battle site. Graves has written the book in his own words "to further the efforts of the Society and partly to make my research available to a larger audience." He has succeeded admirably on both scores and one hopes in the not too distant future "enlightened" visitors to Chippawa will find it properly marked and preserved as it should be. ◆

Lieutenant-Colonel Ian McCulloch is Commanding Officer of The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment of Canada) and a frequent contributor to "The Beaver" on military matters.

Fuel For
The
Home Fires

DESMOND MORTON
ON THE
PATRIOTIC FUND



The Beaver August/September

THE PIERRE BERTON AWARD

CANADA'S NATIONAL HISTORY SOCIETY established an award in 1994 for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history. Canadian writer and popular author, Pierre Berton, was the first recipient. Mr. Berton agreed to having his name associated with the award in the future.

Individuals or organizations that have helped popularized Canadian history through such means as publications, film, radio and television, theatre or volunteer service may be nominated.

Nominations are now being accepted for the 1995 Pierre Berton Award. In addition to a name and address of the nominee, nominations must be accompanied by detailed information in support of the candidate. A biography or curriculum vitae, newspaper or magazine articles, or letters of support outlining the achievements of the nominee would be welcome.

As a member of Canada's National History Society you are eligible to submit nominations. Please send them, by June 30, 1995 to:

The Pierre Berton Award
Canada's National History Society
478-167 Lombard Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 0T6

If you require further information on the Award please contact Laird Rankin at the above address or
phone (204)988-9300 or
fax (204) 988-9309

The View from Gimli

By Joe Martin

THE NEW ICELANDERS
A North American Community

Edited by David and Vincent Arnason. Turnstone Press, Winnipeg, 1995. 103 pp., illus. $17.95.

This is a coffee table book, complete with excellent illustrations and a foldout map. The subtitle is somewhat misleading because this is a "Gimli-centric" book with poems, stories and songs about Gimli Girls, Gimli Remembered and even the Gimli Waltz.

For those whose only knowledge of Gimli was the forced landing of an Air Canada 767 at the abandoned Gimli air strip, this focus on Gimli may appear to be obscure. For those interested in the many strands of the Canadian fabric, Gimli was the first Icelandic immigrant settlement in Western Canada. The Icelanders share with the German Mennonites the distinction of being the first European immigrants to settle the West after the French and British. And the Icelanders are the only Scandinavians where the majority chose Canada rather than the United States.

The name of their settlement on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg is derived from Norse mythology and refers to Odin's "great hall of heaven." Although now inhabited by people from other lands, Gimli was the founding settlement and is home to the annual Icelandic festival.

The material about the early days is largely documentary, including the Constitution of New Iceland, because originally New Iceland was an independent republic. The most heart-wrenching entry is a letter from a doctor who visited the settlement in 1877 during the smallpox epidemic. This is preceded by a description of the Governor General's visit. Lord Dufferin's visit occurred seven months after the medical doctor's and one is struck by the revival of the colony in such a short period. In describing his visit Dufferin said "I have not entered a single hut or cottage in the settlement which did not contain, no matter how bare its walls or scanty its furniture, a library of twenty or thirty volumes ..." Icelanders are, above all, a literate people and this reference is a fundamental part of their self-image.

The editors do take us beyond Gimli, mostly to Minnesota but also to Winnipeg, Reykjavik and North Dakota. There are no entries on other Manitoba and Saskatchewan communities, but the articles "Western Icelandic Drama" and "Sources for the Icelandic Canadian Genealogist" are surveys, and thus cover a wider geographical area. Unfortunately, the genealogical article omits *The First Hundred Years, around Churchbridge 1880-1980* as a source. This book has important information on the Logberg and Thingvalla settlements.

For those concerned with factual accuracy, it should be noted that in the space of eight lines in the introduction there are three factual errors. The editors contend that Lord Dufferin invited the Icelanders to migrate to Canada. In point of fact, he assisted their movement west once they were already in Canada. The editors assert that the emigrants did no come because of adverse economic and political conditions in Iceland. Vilhjalmar Stefansson, among others, has written that in Iceland "advocates of liberty were being fined, jailed or exiled ... economic and social conditions were wretched." Nor were the emigrants a heterogeneous group, a representative slice of Icelandic society, as the editors claim. The great majority of emigrants were from the northeast (25% of the total population in some districts) and hardly any at all from the south (2.0% or less).

The introduction contains three more errors later on. However, this may not be a concern because the editors contend that "the facts are not the story ... geography is not ... a set of simple undeniable truths about the world." One of the editors goes on to state: "I'm not interested in some narrow, historic truth here. I'm more interested in a good, serviceable mythic truth."

The editors are a father and son team. The father is a writer and professor of Canadian literature; the son is a graphic artist and advertising agent. Together they make a good team.

This is a well-illustrated book with a variety of source documents, poems and articles about one of the more interesting groups to settle in Canada. ◆

Toronto business consultant Joe Martin has Icelandic connections and is a former President of the Manitoba Historical Society.

THE BEAVER
A Gift
That Lasts
All Year

THE PACKET

Letters, Notes and Opinion

Three historic Ottawa properties on Confederation Square have been revitalized in a project involving The Standard Life Assurance Company. The Bell Block (1867), centre, the first home in 1885 of the "Ottawa Journal" newspaper, contributes its façade as the main entrance to the Chambers complex which incorporates a modern office tower (rear) and two refurbished heritage properties — the Scottish-Ontario Chambers (1883), left, and the Central Chambers (1890-91), right.

A Memory of Absolute Hardship

As a university graduate (UBC History, Honours, 1932) who started teaching in Rutland, just outside Kelowna, in September that year, I found the article, "Northern Wealth" by Michael Bliss [*The Beaver,* December 1994/January 1995] disappointingly inadequate and slanted.

"Unemployment rose as high as 25 percent of the labour force that still included relatively few women". Does Bliss suggest that because few women were among the employed outside the home, they suffered less than men because of the Depression? Frequently the women stayed home with the children while the men "rode the rods" and faced police brutality in their search for jobs.

In 1932, I wrote an essay on conditions in Rutland community and school as part of requirements to complete my teacher qualifications. From his ivory tower at the University of British Columbia my professor wrote on the essay in red ink, "Don't exaggerate, Frank, in the attempt to prove your point".

I did not exaggerate. My salary of $900 per year put me among the most wealthy citizens of that community. We teachers and some parents joined to provide hot cocoa for youngsters at noon.

One family lived in a converted chicken house with coldframe cotton closing the windows instead of glass and the only heat a Quebec woodburner. The hardship for families like this was "absolute". I remember this family very clearly. It was suggested that pupils bring either 10 cents, a pound of cocoa, a pound of sugar or a tin of milk to help provide the drink. This family could not contribute. We had great difficulty getting their children in the school to accept the "charity" cocoa.

Improvement in public health

occurred because the provincial government provided health services. A dentist toured the schools providing early service to the youngsters. A public health nurse, Mrs. Grindon, was a regular visitor.

I moved to Armstrong in September 1939. My classroom looked out on the railway. Each morning at 9:30 we stopped studies while the CPR from Sicamous pulled up the grade and again at 10:30 when the CNR from Kamloops headed south. Each train, behind the engine and tender, had a baggage car, two or three box cars, a passenger coach and caboose. In the afternoon, the trains returned. Both ways the box cars were laden with men on the endless search for non-existing work.

Then came the war. It seemed almost instantaneously that both lines had full freight trains and passenger trains. In the passenger trains were the former "bums", now in the army, clothed, fed and trained for the purpose of war — work and wages denied them in times of peace.

Where did Bliss get the idea that the Mackenzie King Government was careful to make sure that no one would get rich out of it [the war]?

In 1939, Norman Rogers, then Minister of National Defence, toured Canadian industry trying to get one corporation to supply the needs for military equipment for our soldiers at the 5% profit limit set by Parliament. Not one corporation "volunteered".

While men who failed to volunteer for general service were being called "Zombies" and given rough treatment, corporations were given entirely different treatment.

The federal government introduced the Cost Plus contracts with ample subsidies to ease the costs associated with conversion to military production and guarantees of similar subsidies, when war was over, to return to production for peace. There was no shortage of loyal corporations after those decisions. One would have thought that Michael Bliss would have the time and resources to research thoroughly the level of profits reaped by Canadian corporations during the war.

After the war (I was in the RCAF) I returned to teaching in Armstrong. Art Linfield, the principal, and I planned to set up a business course in the high school. The military camp at Vernon was being dismantled. We approached every authority we could identify to purchase the typewriters and other office equipment at the camp. None was available. All were dumped in ravines and gullies in the camp vicinity and bulldozed. The interests of school youngsters who had bought war savings certificates were sacrificed to ensure that the sale of secondhand war materiel did not prevent Canadian corporations from making profits from peace.

In the Memorial Park in Armstrong, B.C., is a stone obelisk on which are inscribed the names of 25 young men from the Armstrong-Spallumcheen area who died in the war. All of them I knew. Most of them I had taught. Between 1932 when I started teaching and May of 1942 when I joined the RCAF, over 40 of the lads who had been my pupils were killed.

One cannot disagree with Michael Bliss that Canadians are one of the most favoured peoples entering the twenty-first century. But at what cost? Has Professor Bliss considered Resource Accounting, the system by which national wealth as measured by the GNP is balanced with resources diminished or destroyed and environmental and other costs?

We have a cabin on Shuswap Lake from which we can see the mile-long coal trains taking coal from Fernie to Roberts Bank for export. The value of that coal, of the wages, revenue from the freight etc. are all included in the GNP. That resource will very soon be exhausted. Would it not be wise to show on the national balance sheet some indication of the cost to future generations of the no-longer-existing coal resource?

We have been and still are so rich a people that we apparently still believe that we can have our cake and eat it.

We could, if we had the wisdom, learn from the United States. Just over 200 years ago that new nation took over an area rich beyond that of any other people in every type of natural resources. In six or seven generations the people of that rich area, still less than 300 million in numbers, have so devastated those resources that they have to depend upon supplies from outside their borders. Even for their water supplies they are developing plans to take control of Canadian water to meet their needs.

Frank Snowsell,
Kelowna,
British Columbia.

Out-of-Print
Canadian Books, Pamphlets and Periodicals

History ● Biography ● Art
Literature ● Exploration etc.

Catalogues Free on Request

Huronia-Canadiana Books
(Helen & John Wray)
705-435-7255
Box 685, Alliston, Ontario L0M 1A0

Athens of the North

In his article "Becoming Canadian" [*The Beaver*, December 1994/January 1995], under the sub-heading "Canadian Culture," J.M. Bumsted writes: "... English-speaking Canadians outside Ontario ... increasingly resented any suggestion of the cultural dominance of Toronto, and the city's pre-eminence declined, especially after 1945." This is a preposterous misrepresentation of our recent history. Though resentment of Toronto is indeed a constant Canadian refrain, the city's "pre-eminence," *i.e.* its singular outstandingness among Canadian cultural centres, underwent the exact opposite of a decline in the period referred to.

The development of the Canadian Opera Company and the National Ballet of Canada, for example, to mention two Toronto-based professional performing organizations which have toured all provinces and territories as well as to other countries, began only in the late 1940s. In that period, there was one struggling professional theatre company in Toronto, the New Play Society, operating in a basement auditorium very much on a shoestring; it was the ensuing decades which saw the growth of a dozen more such companies along with proper homes and devoted audiences. Is Bumsted not aware of the successes of Toronto's book and periodical publishing, recording, and film industries, a growth-phenomenon which mainly took place from the 1960s onward? What other Canadian city would he compare with Toronto that would make these features appear as a "decline"? Would he seriously suggest today's jazz scene is a "decline" over what the city offered in 1945?

The "decline" has recently produced, I notice, the splendid Canadian Broadcasting Centre with its beautiful and acoustically fine Glenn Gould Studio. Perhaps Bumsted has heard of it, and like his fellow non-Torontonians resents it? I can recall from the 1950s the first plan for this Centre. During the long delays in getting federal-government approval for it, the CBC went ahead proudly with new homes for Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver, where a good deal of its work takes place, to Regina and Charlottetown, where hardly any does. Meanwhile Toronto — mean, dominating Toronto — in its cultural "decline," shouldered more than sixty per cent of the network radio broadcasting of the country and a similar portion of its pioneering television work (starting in 1952), working out of a makeshift series of converted warehouses and rented offices in twenty locations around the city. The standards achieved are in my view no "decline" but a triumph of the "Canadian Culture" Bumsted purported to be reviewing.

John Beckwith,
Toronto, Ontario.

The Beaver
EXPLORING CANADA'S HISTORY

Now you can reach over 40,000

- enlightened
- interested
- affluent

paid subscribers by advertising in *The Beaver*

For more information contact:

MICHAEL J. MURTON

Murton and Company
86 Brentcliffe Road,
Toronto ON M4G 3Y6
(416) 429-0751
Fax (416) 429-6667

Who Won That War?

As an American friend of Canada and subscriber to *The Beaver* I was startled to read in a recent issue that Canada had won the War of 1812. I was brought up to believe that this was a war between the U.S. and Great Britain, caused largely by the unpleasant habit of the Royal Navy of boarding our merchant ships and impressing American seamen, and that we had won. The botched attempts at land invasions of Canada were not concealed from us in our history books — I see in your December/January edition that you are still arguing about whether Canadian militia or British regulars drove us back — but the war was essentially a naval one in which our side was almost always victorious, to the great chagrin of the Ruler of the Waves. Not to be chauvinistic about it, it is obvious that the Royal Navy was largely occupied with European enemies, and could otherwise have swept us off the water. But where the opponents were evenly matched, as in the fleet actions on the lakes and the single-ship duels at sea, we won the battles on Lake Champlain and Lake Erie, three of the four frigate actions at sea, and most of those between smaller ships. In any case, England's preoccupation elsewhere tired her of this — to her — side issue and the war was ended by the Treaty of Ghent in terms mainly favorable to the United States. Although this treaty did not mention the issue of impressment, the practice ceased, so I think our claim to victory is justified.

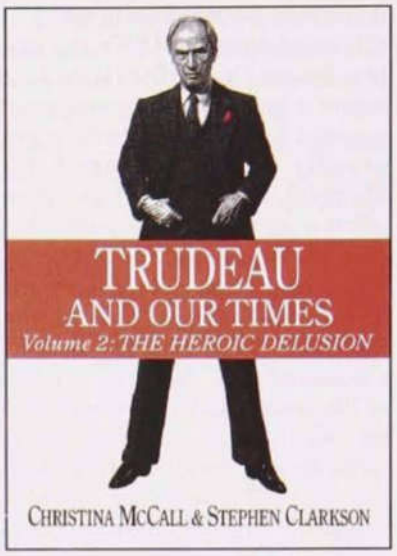
There is an excellent account of the Battle of Lake Erie and of the land clashes which led up to it in the January 1995 issue of the *Smithsonian*. It gives much credit for your successes on land to Chief Tecumseh, not mentioned in your articles, but it is quite frank about our bungling of the invasion attempts.

John Cadwalader,
Blue Bell,
Pennsylvania,
U.S.A.

WE HAVE MOVED

Correspondents are reminded that *The Beaver* has moved into new quarters. The new mailing address is #478 - 167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 0T6.

Prize Winner



The Beaver congratulates the winners of this year's $5,000 J.W. Dafoe Foundation Book Prize, Christina McCall and Stephen Clarkson. *Trudeau and Our Times Volume 2: The Heroic Delusion* is published by McClelland & Stewart.

Free Catalogue

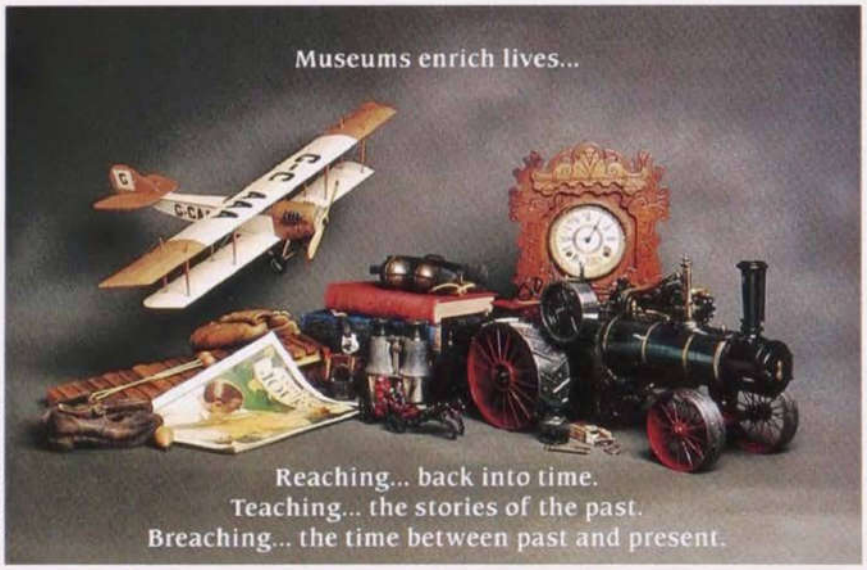
FINE CANADIANA

SELECTED WORLD

Arctic
Atlantic Provinces
Exploration
Discovery
Voyages
Sailing Ships
Sea Power
Naval

ODYSSEY BOOKS (T. Smith)
P.O. Box 24028 London, Ontario,
N6H 5C4
(519) 641-7069 - Ans/Fax

MUSEUM PROFILE


Museums enrich lives...
Reaching... back into time.
Teaching... the stories of the past.
Breaching... the time between past and present.

Photograph by Garry Hayes, W.D.M.

SASKATCHEWAN
WESTERN DEVELOPMENT
MUSEUM

Moose Jaw • North Battleford
Saskatoon • Yorkton
1-800-363-6345

MUSEUM DISCOUNTS

Membership in Canada's National History Society provides reduced admission to the following leading Canadian museums:

- Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria
- Vancouver Museum
- Vancouver Maritime Museum
- Glenbow Museum, Calgary
- Provincial Museum of Alberta, Edmonton
- Saskatchewan Western Development Museum, Saskatoon
- Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg
- McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal
- Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec
- New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick
- Yarmouth County Museum, Yarmouth, N.S.

A discount of at least 20% will be given on regular admission upon presentation of your membership card. All subscribers to **The Beaver** are automatically members of the Society.

Canada's National History Society

Our History, Minute by Minute

From time to time I find myself in discussions about Canadian history with "media" people. They may not have read Pierre Berton or heard of *The Beaver,* but they have decided to volunteer to save Canadian history, or indeed Canada itself. By now I can fit their plans on a checklist:

Mission: Make Canada's History Come Alive.
Means: The Magic of Film.
Message: The Colour, Drama, Fun of Canadian History.
Target: The Young People.
How to reach the target: Get It into the Schools.
Consequence: National Salvation.

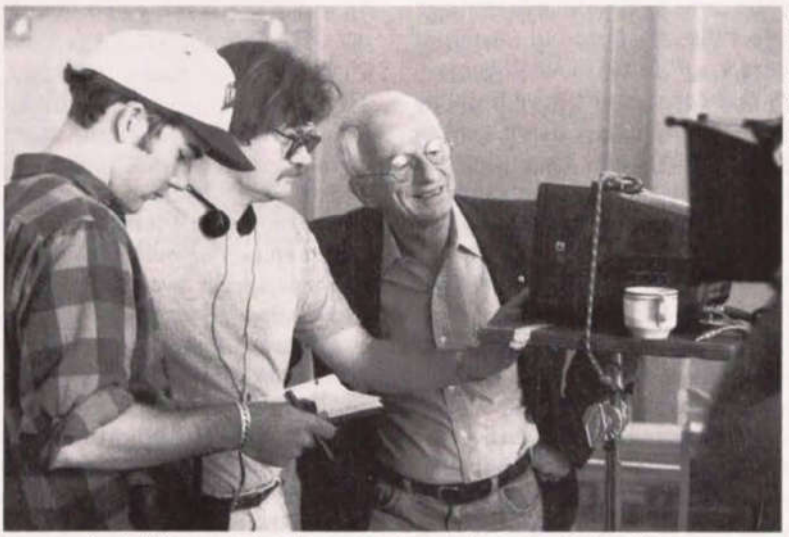
Faced with this farrago of sentimental kitsch, filmmaker arrogance, nationalist propaganda, and ignorance of how schools work, I run in the other direction. The presumptions there — that history can somehow save the country, yet at the same time it is not serious, it is not for adults, and it does not engage any ideas or difficulties — are so alien to everything that has driven my adult career as a writer about history, that it becomes hard to believe we are working the same territory.

On the other hand, I rather like the Heritage Minutes. Has everyone now seen a few examples of these one-minute mini-dramas, the ones that pop up among the television commercials or before the feature at the movie theatre? Each Minute offers a glimpse of some heroic deed, some defining act, some silly or sad or glorious event from the Canadian past. They are history, but they are television first. It is hard not to mock the idea of Canadiana as a sound-bite — but they do catch the eye, and they often separate themselves from the tube's endless wash of junk.

Some Minutes put a lump in your throat, but many are not reverential at all. There's a scene with Queen Victoria that makes a jokey reference to a tea commercial — pity! Kate Nelligan, playing a very glamorous Emily Murphy, sketches out the "Persons Case" with sophisticated sarcasm. And the Minute on McLuhan — imagine them doing him! — hints at his ideas without closing off the possibility he may have been a bit of a loony too. For Minutes like these, one can forgive the earnestness of the St. Louis de Riel Minute or the corporate backpatting of some others.

Heritage Minutes go by very fast. Still, they are "grown-up" in exactly the way most TV history is childish. This time we are spared not only the cheap graphics and bad wigs, but also the plodding, didactic scripts and the assumption that history is mostly a license to preach at the kids.

When I first began to notice the Minutes on TV, I could not decide whether to be alarmed at history being sold like cornflakes, amused by the Minutes' insouciant style, or puzzled by the corporate behemoths sponsoring them. Recently, however, after I was interviewed by CBC Newsworld's "Just a Minute" (a half-hour panel show spun off from the Minutes themselves), I began to realize the Heritage Minutes were part of an historical empire, with a budget in the millions and spin-offs in every direction. Recently I went to look at the Heritage Project and its ambitions. They turned out to be oddly conflicted.



The CRB Foundation

Patrick Watson, right, with crew members on the set of a Heritage Minute.

The Heritage Project is the creation of the CRB Foundation, founded in Montreal in 1986 by Charles R. Bronfman. (Project administrator Deborah Morrison laughingly denies it began with the

money Bronfman got for selling the Montreal Expos.) Heritage Minutes quickly became the Heritage Project's hot idea. Patrick Watson, who soon became their creative director, thinks the plan to market history in one-minute spots, like hamburgers or Cadillacs, may have been Charles Bronfman's own directive. Watson came in later and is reluctant to make himself the centre of the story, but his intervention seems to have been decisive in shaping the Minutes.

Patrick Watson has matchless experience not only in television journalism, but also in putting history and television together. His "interview" program, "Witness to Yesterday" was around for years, and he came to Bronfman's Heritage Project directly from "In Search of Democracy," a ten-hour documentary that could hardly have been the work of a cynical or sentimental trivializer. Was it a come-down, I wondered, to move from thoughtful documentaries to soundbites of history that would be jammed in among the commercials on someone else's program?

Not at all, says Watson. He had been interested in "compressed narratives" ever since he was on the jury of a one-minute film festival for Expo 67, and the power of advertising had always been a fascination. By the end of "Democracy," he had had his fill of the long documentary and was thinking about drama. When he heard the Heritage Project's plans in a day-long meeting with other consultants, he says, "the first thought I had was 'movies'."

That idea came to define the Heritage Minutes. Watson helped convince the Project to go for the movie look, with strong production values, good acting, high quality lighting and sound, original music, even the use of 35 mm instead of TV film. Just as important, the Minutes follow the dramatic conventions of the movies, obeying what Watson likes to call "the order of images".

Watson cites the Minute called "Valour Road" as his discovery of the potential of the Minutes as short-form drama. "Valour Road" celebrates three soldiers from the same street in Winnipeg who each won the Victoria Cross in separate First World War actions. "I kept saying too complicated, too complicated," recalls Watson, but the script seemed stuck at over four minutes. "It was when we got that one into shape that I realized we had a way here to do any story."

The secret was finding how to leave things out. Or, as Watson puts it, "finding the dramatic nucleus". Where an historical documentary like the beautiful, much-admired Ken Burns film "The Civil War" explains everything it knows, a Heritage Minute leaves a thousand things unexplained, undiscussed, barely evoked. Its allusions just flicker by, and may not even make sense on a first viewing. But like commercials or music videos, the Minutes appear over and over. The Foundation offers them free to TV stations, and since they confer valuable Canadian-content points, their total exposure nationwide now runs at more than thirteen hours of airtime every month. To your pleasure or fury, you may already know some of them by heart.

The movie look is expensive. A budget that was supposed to buy the Heritage Project a whole series of pilots actually produced one Minute. If you admire the style of a Heritage Minute, it's partly because the makers spent a quarter of a million dollars on it. The CRB Foundation doesn't release its budget, but with fifty Minutes in the can since 1991, the total cost must be over $10 million. Other sponsors have joined in, but the Foundation remains the main backer and contributor.

John Thompson and Jean-Claude Robert, two Montreal academics best known for thick monographs composed in orthodox scholarly form, joined the Project as historical advisors. Patrick Watson says that Thompson, who now teaches at Duke University in the United States, "began as a real burr in my side and became a colleague and a friend". Thompson laughs at the way film people treat historians ("I told the director there were accounts of what really went on, and he said, 'John, it's three hundred years ago. No one is going to remember.'"), but he still likes the Minutes, some of which he scripted, as films. He confirms that some fellow academics have loathed the whole concept of the Minutes. Still, he's pleased with the way they express "a truth in fiction," and he gives both Watson and Bronfman credit for seeking that.

In a recent *Canadian Forum* article, literary scholar Elspeth Cameron and historian Janice Dickin McGinnis praised what they see as the Minutes' essentially Canadian style: a focus on common people and ordinary heroisms, a hint of self-deprecation, a gentle anti-Americanism. Thompson is amused by the idea that a chaotic, collaborative project like the Minutes could follow any guiding authorial vision, but Watson, the *autour* of the Minutes if anyone is, thinks Cameron and McGinnis hit the target. "I strongly believe that Vince Coleman, the telegraph officer in the Halifax explosion Minute, is the Canadian paradigm of a hero. He was an ordinary guy who, when extraordinary circumstances came along, did the thing he was supposed to do. That's what we are about. Doing one's duty in extraordinary circumstances is the Canadian style of heroism."

Watch the Minutes attentively for a while, and their limits are easy to see. "We have four, no, five Minutes that feature spunky young women confronting hidebound old men," says John Thompson, "but no Minutes of trade unionists confronting corporations. And there is

The CRB Foundation

Parliamentarian Agnes Macphail confronts a "man's world" in her Heritage Minute.

not a single Minute on the Canadian welfare state, which was built up in ways not particularly congenial to the people who put up the money for the Minutes." Rumour has it there is a script on Tommy Douglas that will never be shot; Douglas was an old *bete noire* of the Bronfman family.

But the key limitation of the Minutes is also their great strength. We can watch them as TV spots — and as no more than TV spots. I can find them amusing, or diverting, or briefly moving, and then forget about them without feeling I've being told that History will save the country.

That, oddly enough, is what the Heritage Project finds hard to accept. The Project's mandate — "to build a sense of identity and Canadianness, especially in young people, and to promote history in order to engender identity" — has exactly the flag-waving gooeyness that seems to typify History for media types. Project staff members earnestly offer all the cliches about the nation-building potential of Getting the Kids Hooked on History Through New Media. Watson declares his minute movies are intended for kids and are really important for their classroom potential. Even John Thompson insists the Minutes are merely the "sizzle" for the Project's educational meat-and-potatoes.

But most of the Minutes' educational spinoffs, new technology and all, look quite conventional. The Project calls its latest venture, *We Are Canadians,* a "heritage learning resource kit," but it's a standard 1990s version of the history textbook, with the familiar units on New France, the Loyalists, and Settling the West. In the world of educational materials, it and the teachers' magazine *Heritage Post* are worthy but hardly unique. What really distinguishes them are their corporate logos — we expect them in a TV spot, but they still jar in the classroom.

Chasing after Significance, the Heritage Project seems unwilling to admit that its really significant creation is the Minutes themselves. Watson is right that the one-minute drama can be a worthwhile genre, well suited to the way we watch television. Even at ten million dollars, the Minutes ought to be appreciated for themselves, just a bunch of media moments, not required — just this once — to save the nation or the children.

The Heritage Minutes appear on television and in Cineplex-Odeon theatres. *We Are Canadians* is published by Prentice-Hall Canada. "Just A Minute," hosted by Patrick Watson and Pamela Wallin, started a new run on CBC Newsworld in May 1995.

The Heritage Project invites comments and suggestions: The Heritage Project, P.O. Box 1867, Kingston, Ontario K7L 5J7, 1-800-567-1867. ◆

CORRECTION

The sixth sentence of the last paragraph (page 40) in the article "Daughters of the True North 1900-1995" by Veronica Strong-Boag (*The Beaver,* December 1994/January 1995) was intended to read: "While some disillusionment was occasioned by its adoption of pronatalist policies after the 1976 election, many Quebec feminists continue to see their interests as best served within a separate nation."

THE SOCIETY

Two New Museums

WELCOME to the Provincial Museum of Alberta and the Yarmouth County Museum.

These institutions have recently joined the Society's admission discount program, bringing to eleven the number of leading museums across Canada that give Society members an admission discount of at least 20 per cent upon presentation of a valid membership card.

Located in Edmonton, the Provincial Museum of Alberta features a rich variety of important natural history and human history collections from botany to ethnology and includes the largest egg collection in Canada (the eighth largest in North America). It originates and displays many travelling exhibitions.

The collections of the Yarmouth County Museum and History Research Library pertain to early industries in the area. There are paintings of locally built and owned ships, a blacksmith shop and Victorian - period rooms. The library has newspapers back to 1833, family genealogies, county histories and other archival material. The Museum is located in Yarmouth, N. S

Society Directors in the News

Joe Martin, of Toronto, is taking early retirement from Deloitte & Touche on August 31 to start a new career. He will be joining the University of Toronto Faculty of Management as an Executive-in-Residence and an Adjunct Professor of "Advanced Concepts of Strategic Management". Mr. Martin has been a member of Deloitte & Touche for twenty - nine years and a partner for twenty - three. He will continue his involvement with the firm after his retirement as a consulting associate.

Joe Martin

Shirlee Anne Smith

Joseph A. Ghiz

Shirlee Anne Smith, of Winnipeg, one of the Societie's founding directors, was honoured by the Province of Manitoba on May 11, Manitoba Day, with the Prix Manitoba Award. The Award recognizes individuals and organizations "who have enriched the lives of all Manitobans through their contributions and achievements in the areas of culture, heritage, recreation and multiculturalism." Mrs. Smith was named the 1995 recipient for Heritage (Vocation). Mrs. Smith is the former Keeper, Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

Joseph A. Ghiz, has been named to the trial division of the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island. Until his appointment in April, Mr. Justice Ghiz was Dean of Law at Dalhousie University. He was premier of Prince Edward Island from 1986 to 1993.

Joint Venture

THE SOCIETY and the Canadian Historical Association, of Ottawa, are pleased to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II with the publication of 1945: When Canada Won the War. This historical booklet was written by Desmond Morton, one of Canada's leading historians. Dr. Morton is the director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada and a director of the Society. The Society shared the production costs of this publication.

Prairie Cloud, by Leo Simoens

The booklet describes how W.W. II changed everything. It left Canada and the U.S. the two richest nations in the world. Canadians came of age and accepted responsibilities in, to and for the world and earned a reputation as "useful fixers". The booklet helps us remember those who paid in full for what their country gained.

The booklet is available, in either English or French, from:

The Canadian Historical Association
395 Wellington St.,
Ottawa, ON K1A 0N3
Phone: 613-233-7885
Fax: 613-567-3110

The cost is $4.25 per copy and the price includes postage and taxes. Cheques or money orders should be made payable to the Association.

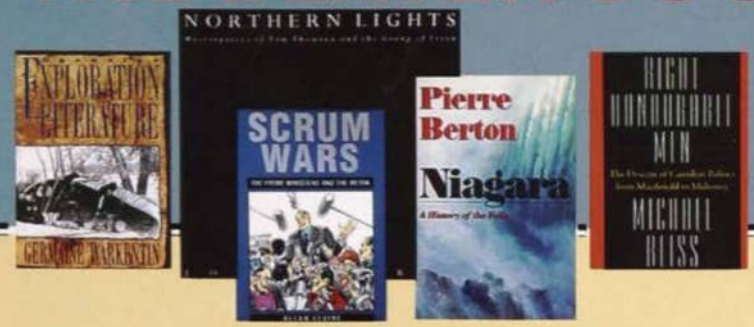
1945: When Canada Won the War is the 54th in a series of booklets the Association has published that provides concise accounts of specific historical issues and problems in Canadian history. The series is designed to appeal to the general reader, the teacher and the historical specialist. A complete listing of the booklets is available from the Association in Ottawa.

Thanks

WINNIPEG artist and graphic designer, Leo Simoens, has donated two colour etchings to the Society that now hang in the Society's new offices. The Society appreciates Mr. Simoens' generosity - and his initiative: his works are the first "gifts in kind" received by the Society. Among his many accomplishments, Mr. Simoens has had a long association with **The Beaver**, having designed covers for the magazine over a period of years.

Canada's National History Society
Laird Rankin, General Manager

THE BEAVER BOOK CLUB



THE BEAVER BOOK CLUB offers a convenient way to obtain selected Canadian books - primarily those dealing with historical or biographical subjects - at significant savings. Selections may vary with each issue of The Beaver.

NORTHERN LIGHTS
Masterpieces of Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven, *by Joan Murray*
A stunning, commemorative 75th anniversary tribute to Canada's most beloved and influential artists. 10 3/4" x 10 3/4" 196 pp., over 140 colour plates. Publisher's List Price $50; Club Price **$32.** (cloth)

RIGHT HONOURABLE MEN *by Michael Bliss*
This is a book that Canadians have been waiting for: a unique history of the country told through the personalities of its ten most important prime ministers. 320pp. Publisher's List Price $28; Club Price **$17.50** (cloth)

LOUISBOURG PORTRAITS
by Christopher Moore
Military sieges dominate the history of Louisbourg. Moore describes the town behind the fortress walls through five dramatic tales of people who lived in the 18th- century garrison town. Publisher's List Price $14.95; Club Price **$11.** (paper)

THE PEOPLE'S RAILWAY
by Donald Mackay
Canada's first crown corporation, the Canadian National Railway, is described from its beginnings through profiles, interviews and first- hand accounts. 325pp., B&W photos, Publisher's List Price $19.95; Club Price **$14.**(paper)

SCRUM WARS
The Prime Ministers and the Media *by Allan Levine*
An anecdotal and analytical account of the fascinating and dramatic confrontations between the prime ministers of Canada and the men and women of the Canadian news media. 350pp, 30 illustrations. Publisher's List Price $19.99; Club Price **$13.** (paper)

A MILITARY HISTORY OF CANADA
by Desmond Morton
Morton has integrated the experiences of Canadians fighting on land, sea and air and linked them, for the first time, to Canadian history as a whole. Third Edition. 315 pp., photographs, maps. Publisher's List Price $19.99; Club Price **$11.** (paper)

CANADIAN EXPLORATION LITERATURE
by Germaine Warkentin
A collection of writings by Canada's early explorers. This fascinating and unique anthology includes the letters, diaries, reports and surveys of more than twenty explorers, from Pierre Esprit Radisson, and his travels to Lake Superior in 1660, to Captain John Palliser, and his 1859 report of settlement prospects in the Canadian Prairies. 464pp., maps. Publisher's List Price $34.95; Club Price **$ 19.** (cloth)

THE WORLD OF WILLIAM NOTMAN
by Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds and Stanley Triggs
William Notman was Canada's most remarkable 19th- century photographer. This elegant book is a tribute to the timeless work produced by him and his sons in Canada and the United States. 226 pp. Publisher's List Price $75; Club Price **$34.** (cloth)

NATIONAL PARKS OF CANADA
by Kevin McNamee
with a foreword by David Suzuki.
A celebration, in words and pictures, of Canada's national park system, its evolution, achievements and future. 224pp., 120 colour, 40 black & white photographs , 10 maps. Publisher's List Price $45; Club Price **$29.** (cloth)

A SHORT HISTORY OF CANADA
by Desmond Morton
Revised and expanded in the 1990s, this new edition provides a lively, insightful and comprehensive account of what shaped Canada's past. Must reading to understand Canada today. Publisher's List Price $18.99; Club Price **$10.50** (paper)

THE LOYALISTS
by Christopher Moore
The award-winning account of some 50,000 Americans who fled the United States for Canada in the late 18th-century in protest over the revolution against Britain. Publisher's List Price $19.99; Club Price **$11.** (paper)

ANDRE LAURENDEAU
by Donald Horton
A biography of a many-sided man who became the "most widely respected French-Canadian nationalist of his generation." Publisher's List Price $29.95; Club Price **$16.50** (cloth)

A NATION TOO GOOD TO LOSE *by Joe Clark*
An important and timely book. In a readable and passionate manner, former Prime Minister Joe Clark tells why the Canada we know can still be saved.
Publisher's List Price $16.95; Club price **$12.** (paper)

Still Available
Which Reminds Me, *Mitchell Sharp* **$29.**

Niagara, *Pierre Berton* **$15.**

Please send me the following..... Please allow approximately four weeks for delivery.

Title:_____

Title:_____

Title:_____

ORDER BY MAIL: THE BEAVER BOOK CLUB 478 - 167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg MB R3B 0T6. **ADD:** $5.00, shipping and handling to each order and (Canadian Residents Only) 7% G.S.T. to the total order. CREDIT CARD HOLDERS ONLY: **PHONE** Toll free, Canada & U.S., 1-800-816-6777, weekdays, 8:30 am to 4:30 pm, Central time zone or **FAX:** (204) 988-9309
PAYMENT BY: _____Visa_____Mastercard_____Amex_____Cheque or money order, Payable to The Beaver

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

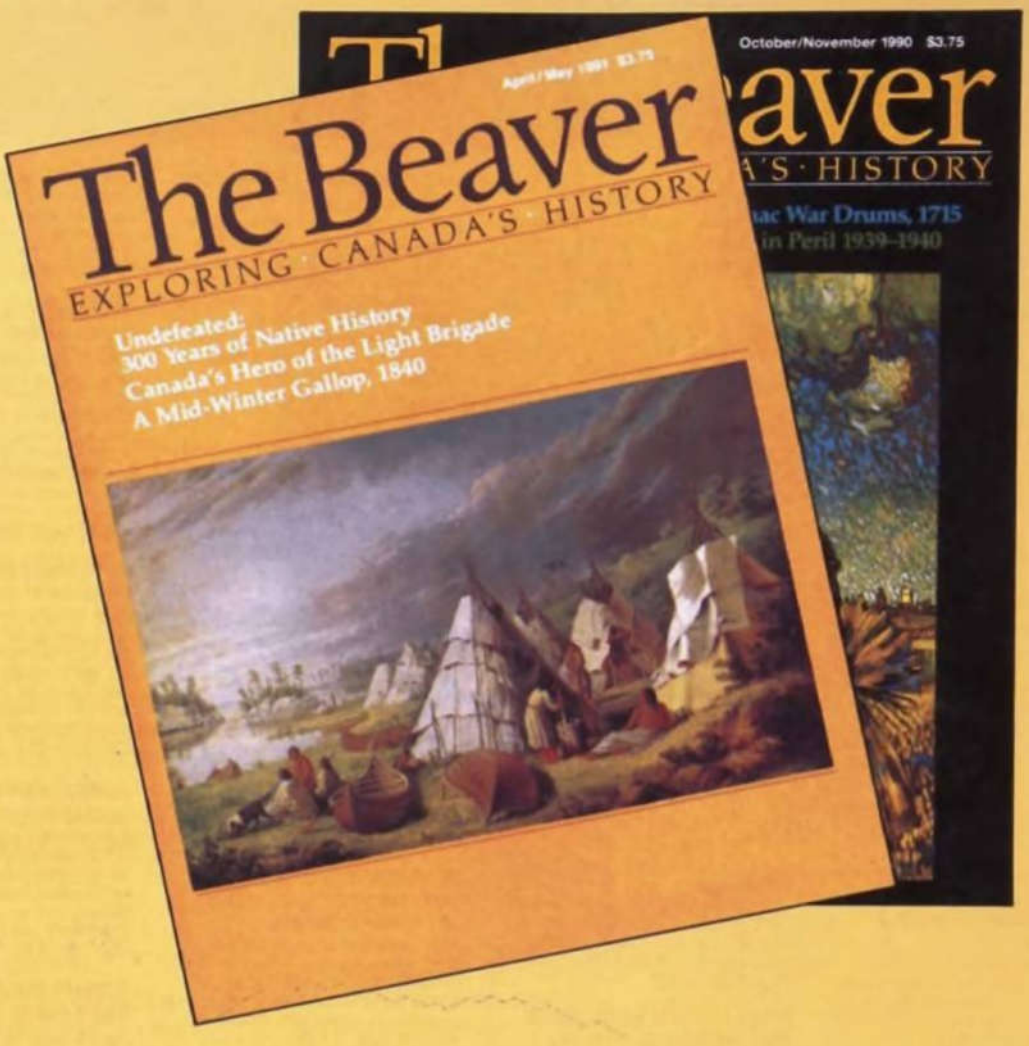
CITY_____ PROV._____

TELEPHONE_____ POSTAL/ZIP_____

CREDIT CARD NO._____ EXPIRY DATE_____

SIGNATURE_____

A PROJECT OF CANADA'S NATIONAL HISTORY SOCIETY



A Timeless Gift

For the armchair adventurer
or the art lover, historian, collector . . .
or almost anyone with an interest
in the past and present
of this northern country and its people . . .

A gift that is new six times every year;
that will be preserved and enjoyed in years to come.

Use the handy subscription form
inside this issue
Subscription rate: $27.50 year for 6 issues

The Beaver
EXPLORING · CANADA'S · HISTORY
#478-167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg, Man. R3B 0T6